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ACCOUNT OF DEATH
IN A WOMEN'S PRISON

Maclean's

THE VICTIMS

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And Floods Is
Ravaging
Millions Of
Innocent
Lives**



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Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MAY 20 1995 VOL. 124 NO. 20

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COVER

THE VICTIMS

With refugees in Rwanda, cyclone victims in Bangladesh and the spectre of mass famine in Africa, the underdeveloped world presents a picture of natural and man-made catastrophe rarely equalled in this century. Although there is an uncomfortable urge to help, Canadians and other relatively affluent Westerners face what international relief workers call "compassion fatigue." — 36

JUSTICE

DEATH BEHIND BARS

When she killed herself in 1988, Marlene Moore had spent much of her life in a prison system that failed to deal with the effects of her traumatic childhood. Now, the authors of a new book say that her experience is a scathing indictment of the way Canada treats female criminals. — 58



CANADA

OFF TO A FRESH START

As part of Ottawa's new process of consultation, Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark talked to opposition leaders and met with politicians in the Yukon and Northwest Territories last week. With analysts said that far more concrete action will be required to solve Canada's national unity crisis. — 34



LETTERS

NAMING NAMES

Until I received my April 29 issue of *Maclean's*, I did not know the name of the woman claiming to have been raped by Senator Edward Kennedy's nephew, William Kennedy Smith ("A woman says so-called," World). I would still not know it, had you not stepped in the worst form of journalism. By assuming to a "they did it, so we see it in our readers to design her name" essentially, you have committed two errors: you have defamed credibility as a responsible newspaper and you have threatened sexual assault.

Catherine Plante,
Montreal

I have decided to cancel my subscription to your magazine because you decided to publish the name of a possible rape victim, using the flimsy excuse that the woman's identity was already widely known. It is difficult at the best of times for rape victims to go through the often humiliating prosecution of the alleged rapist, and it has been a struggle to keep their private lives out of the court process and to remove blame from the victim. Your article went so far as to describe the victim's past and identity. I consider this outrageous.

T. N. McLeod,
Leedsbridge, Alta.

Maclean's has brought the reputation of sexual assault back onto the Dark Ages. Your magazine has contributed to a phenomenon that I had hoped had long disappeared—trial by the press. There is no shame on the women whose lives have avoided, and whose chance of obtaining justice you have diminished. The shame is on you.

David Leckoff,
Toronto

I noted in "A woman says so-called" that "Maclean's" usually shuns the identities of alleged victims of sexual assault to spare them from social stigma." If you offer the same protection to the alleged assailant if it shows a stigma attached to being labelled a rape victim, unquote the stigma of being labelled a rapist without actually having been convicted of rape. How can anyone expect to be permitted to accuse a person of a crime and remain anonymous, while the alleged aggressor may be forced into public humiliation? Your policy runs counter to every value our judicial system is meant to promote. The perpetration of the currently popular attitude that women are good, men are bad, will not help put an end to rape and other violent crimes; it will serve only to help promote them, as men are increasingly vilified and discredited.

Nichelle Tremblay,
Ottawa



Kennedy: 'the worst form of journalism'

BULLSHIT ON PEACE

I find it incredible that we, through our governments and universities, funded a brilliant engineer like Gerald Bull to build weapons ("The man with the golden gun," *Comex*, April 22). When will our priorities reflect a constructive life force rather than a destructive death

Ted Winkler's
Danden, Ont.

wish? Instead of killing machines, why not encourage positive technology? Windmills and solar turbines, for example, rely on resources in plentiful supply, rather than on coal and oil. The obvious advantages: no waste, no death.

Barbara Klunder,
Toronto

While I enjoyed reading the fascinating story of Gerald Bull, I wonder how much his life and work will affect Canada's self-created image as an international peacekeeper.

G. W. Wright,
South Surrey, B.C.

IT NEVER RAINS IN WINNIPEG

What is the point of Maclean's slight of Winnipeg? ("Raining on the parade," Opening Notes, April 22). As a former Manitoban, I do not know anyone who takes seriously *Maclean's* choice of Brandon over Winnipeg. And as for the "only three per cent of Canada and the world bother to live in Winnipeg" not bad for a city with only two per cent of our country's population. By my calculations 300,000 people—including me—are waiting to move back.

PASSAGES

CHARGED: In Palm Beach, Fla., with second-degree sexual battery is hiding in Florida, against rape and a misdemeanor count of battery, William Kennedy Smith, 30, a medical student at Washington's Georgetown University. The student allegedly occurred on March 30 at the Kennedy family's Palm Beach mansion, where Smith returned with the 28-year-old alleged victim after a night spent bar-hopping with his uncle, Senator Edward Kennedy, 58, and the senator's son Patrick, 23, a Rhode Island state senator. Prosecutors have also filed two charges against Gabe, a Florida-based lobbyist, and are considering charging other names mentioned in the story.



ADVISED: To Howard White, 46, the Stephen Leacock Medal for Humor and \$3,500 for humorous writing by a *Canada* on Oct. 24 contestants, White was for writing on the *Play*, his book detailing life on British Columbia's coast.

DIED: One of the world's greatest painters, Rudolf Serkin, 86, of cancer, in a Gailford, Vt., hospital. The American-born Serkin performed his first concert at the age of 12 in 1915 and gave his last major concert in 1986. Serkin played regularly with renowned American ensembles. His former pupils include his son, Peter, and Canadian pianist Anton Kuerti.

DIED: One of Bing Crosby's sons from his first marriage to Dixie Lee Myers, Dennis Crosby, 56, of a self-inflicted gunshot

wound to the head. He is the second of Bing Crosby's sons to commit suicide. In 1989, at 51, Lindsay Crosby also shot himself.

DIED: Wilfrid Hyde-White, 87, known for his role as Col. Pickens, Rex Haavisto's aide-de-camp in *My Fair Lady*, of heart failure, in a Los Angeles hospital.

ELECTED: As chairman of the worldwide nonprofit Food Marketing Institute, Richard Corrie, 55, the president of Toronto-based Laidlaw Companies Ltd. and the first non-American to chair the 1,600-member association.

DIVORCED: Rolling Stones bass guitarist Bill Wyman, 53, and his wife of two years, Mandy Smith, 19. The couple began dating when Smith was 13.

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OPENING NOTES

Kitty Kelley earns an upgrade, Madonna bares her sexual past, and Philadelphia loses its Rights

FAIRY GODMOTHER

Now that Madonna's latest new documentary, *Truth or Dare*, has opened across North America, the title of *Madonna*, a mother of five living in Pittsburgh, N.C., will likely never be the same. In the film, Madonna talks about her childhood friendship with Madonna and claims that as children, the two were engaged in sex together. But Madonna demurred: "If we got laid together naked, I don't remember." During an on-screen meeting in Madonna's hotel, Madonna told the rock star that she was pregnant and asked her to be the godmother. Madonna said that she would think about it. In January, Madonna had a daughter. And, she told Madonna's, her childhood friend has agreed to be the baby's godmother. Said Madonna: "It's like my own daughter is look to Madonna for inspiration. That's why I named her Madonna Marie, so that if she does become a superstar like her godmother, she can use Marie as her stage name." As she explained: "I love Madonna, but I don't think the world will ever be ready for two of her."

Madonna and baby Madonna: sugar and spice



A warning for Canadians in Cuba

Canadian journalists covering the 16-day Pro-American Games at Havana this August have been warned: life in the Cuban capital is no cupcake. And apparently no name: Media and travel papers, either, according to the Canadian Olympic Association. In an eight-page advisory sent this month to news organizations, the CIA recommends that reporters "also along with the most basic table-mats—even soap." Stars provided by the hotel are about the size of one quarter, the CIA's director of communications. "We weren't trying to

be asked to the Cuban. We only wanted to say that it's not like home." But at \$4.68 a bottle, at least the whisky is cheap.



Delicious Havana soap: bare like 'Chicle'

LOST AND NEVER FOUND

Philadelphia officials planning celebrations of the Bill of Rights' 200th anniversary have recently discovered that they are missing only one thing: the document itself. And no one knows what happened to it. Philadelphia's version of the bill, one of 15 so-called originals in existence, was signed there in December, 1791. Said Meryl Levin, spokeswoman for the city's visitors bureau: "We have been searching for months." But now, New Jersey and Delaware have offered to lend Philadelphia their copies. What brotherly love is all about.

A very secret admirer

Ottawa's National Press Club recently received a curious message from New York state—a postcard from Pittsburgh signed by H. Simon of Simon's Shoppers. "I would like to commend Mr. Mulroney and Mr. Wilson for everything they have done for Pittsburgh's economy. They should be picked as Man of the Year," Simon wrote. As a postscript, the card also Canadianed not to forget, *Attempt to find H. Simon failed, but Evelyn Letwin, tourism director of the local chamber of commerce, says that the area attracts 'a lot of Canadian shoppers.'* Said Letwin: "It's because of all the high taxes in Canada." Simon says.

LURING YANKEE TOURISTS

Canadian Airlines International Ltd. and Shoppers Drug Mart have both come under fire recently for featuring American actors in their TV commercials. Now, it is Tourism Saskatchewan's turn. Earlier this year, it settled on American actor Don Adams as the star of its new \$300,000 ad campaign. Adams, who played the bumbling secret agent Maxwell Smart on the popular 1960s TV series *Get Smart*, got the job after several prominent Canadians were considered but rejected. The hangover candidates included hockey great Gordie Howe and singer Buffy Sainte-Marie and jazz pianist Oscar Peterson. Referring to Adams' TV character, the ad campaign boasts on its slogan "Discover the Smart Secret." The province is counting on Adams, who is being paid \$100,000, to lure more American tourists from nearby states. Said Don Miller, a spokesman for Tourism Saskatchewan: "There was no other comparable personality to achieve what Maxwell Smart does for Saskatchewan." But not everyone agrees. And even John Gerch, minister responsible for tourism, acknowledges that he has covered several complaints. Gerch characterized the message as "Get that fuck off the television." And get smart.



Adams: \$100,000 spokesman

Sainte-Marie out



A LITTLE TOO CLOSE FOR COMFORT

The following passages appeared on Jan. 16, 1990, in a Montreal Gazette story by Alexander Morris about mass murderer Marc Lapine: "He was beset by technology, intrigued by history and world politics and was always ready to help a friend." On Feb. 8, 1990, an Ottawa Citizen story about Lapine, which was reported by Gregory Weston and Jack Aubrey, a Montreal Newspaper Award and a Canadian Association of Journalists Award for investigative reporting, had this description of Lapine: "[he was] beset by technology, intrigued by history and world politics and always happy to help a friend." Said Aubrey, who admitted that he used Morris's story as a source: "Possibly we could have attributed it to the Gazette." Gazette editor Norman Webster declined to comment.

Spilling the beans

A slipup 50 years ago by actress Ruth Wurnick almost prevented the release of Cyran Wilkin's film *Interpretation*, Oliver Stone's. But only now, during the publicity surrounding the re-release of the film, did Wurnick reveal that it was she who told a reporter that the movie was based on the life of powerful publisher William Randolph Hearst. Her revelation of what had been a well-kept secret caused Hearst to try to suppress the film, and when *Interpretation* appeared two months later, it opened in only a few markets. Said Wurnick, who played Kane's first wife: "I met with a reporter who asked me what the film was about. I dropped and said that it was about Joan [Hearst], and he left and never came back from the main room. When I realized what I had done, I felt terrible." Like many subjects of Hearst's passions.

Wurnick: 'I felt terrible'



Dishing it out

Blackie. That was the original title of Prisoner, the upcoming unauthorized biography of tabloid author Kitty



Kelley: title change

Kelley, according to its New Jersey-based publisher, Lyle Stuart. Written by George Carpan Jr., the 400-page book chronicles Kelley's life right up to the release of her scandalous biography of former first lady Nancy Reagan. Prisoner's publication is scheduled for August. Said Stuart: "We changed it because, actually, she's a very smart lady."

"A PACKAGE SHOULD SAVE MORE THAN IT COSTS"

Dr. Ruben Rauwing
inventor of the juice box



The perfect package: This was the quest that Doctor Ruben Rauwing set himself almost 30 years ago. His invention, the juice box, is as close as human ingenuity has come to fulfilling his dream.

Dr. Rauwing, an idealistic young Swedish scientist, saw the need for a new kind of food package to bring fresh milk to hungry people in remote countries. A package that would lock in nutrition without the need for refrigeration or preservatives.

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and more compact than existing containers, so that it would require less resources to produce and transport, and create less waste after its use.

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ANOTHER VIEW



The unimportance of being earnest

BY CHARLES GORDON

A terrible calamity seems to be coming over us. Some will attribute it to the taxes, to the constitutional unpleasantness of the past couple of years, or to the recession. But maybe we just have a need to be solemn, maybe it is just the kind of people we are, to have to look for things to be solemn about.

Heaven knows, there is no shortage, for those so inclined. The money is in fact bad shape, the planet is in worse. But the truly solemn person needs neither economic crisis nor global catastrophe. Just about anything will do.

The other night the Canadian music-video channel, MuchMusic, had a panel discussion about two music videos. When you see panel discussions on MuchMusic, you know solemnity is floating in the air. This panel discussion was about two music videos that MuchMusic had been refusing to play, one by the Quebec singer Mafina, the other by the American group Mötley Crüe.

The discussion was on why the videos were banned—"I banned" as the word—whether they should continue to be banned and whether anything should be learned at all. You would have thought, from the manner of the participants, that great art was being discussed, or perhaps important political ideas.

But it wasn't anything like that. No artist had been chosen in jail, no book had been banned, no film stopped by the censors. All that happened was that MuchMusic made a decision not to play the videos and chose not to play two music videos. When political ideas are suppressed or great art is banned, solemnity is the appropriate emotion. When a private television station decides not to play a music video, it is a bit premature to muller up the old President of Eyeglasses here.

Before the panel got to serious discussion, MuchMusic played the two music videos and decided not to play. The videos were not

exactly Lady Chatterley's Lover. Mafina's was harmless enough, except for a bit of nudity that might have offended some people, perhaps on behalf of their children. Mafina's was ugly and dumb, featuring some cringe-looking people of occasionally indeterminate sex playing games on various parts of each other in a hotel room. No one will remember a single lyric of either song or music, or six hours, from now.

But because this is a solemn air, MuchMusic's decision not to include either video in its regular programming became an issue. Mafina's decision, the president of MuchMusic, made a solemn introductory statement, defining, as if it were needed, the stations right to play what it wanted and not to play what it didn't want to play. The panel—was that a terribly entertainment newspaper, a spokesperson from MuchMusic, the writer and broadcaster Daniel Richlin, Mafina herself and a representative of the Toronto Roman Catholic archdiocese—was introduced. The panel having been played, the solemn discussion began.

The view was expressed in the panel discussion that sex was fine, that censorship was bad that art was art, that the human body was a beautiful thing. The poor fellow from the Catholic church was attacked from all quarters for

The view was expressed that sex was fine, that censorship was bad, that art was art, that the human body was a beautiful thing

failing to recognize the art of Mafina and Madonna. He was held responsible for every obscene action of his church in the past decade and paraded for expressing the opinion that the videos might not be suitable for little children to see on their television sets.

The discussion had a familiar ring, the one heard in every censorship battle this century, it would appear. But the battle lines have shifted a bit. This is no school board keeping grade books away from children, that is no arbitrary officialism holding up ideas at the border. It is a private television station deciding on its programming. And the objects of the supposed censorship are not great books, or even good books, or even last movies. They are music videos, little promotional films meant to sell records, young women dance around and pretend to be interested in the young women.

It is hard to think of any sort of show taking place in this battleground. It is hard to imagine any ideas at all. Yet the battles seem to be taking place, with the participants thinking or pretending that they are about something important. We have a need to be solemn.

The media, the membership rolls of which swell by the minute, have a need for controversy. When there is a talent—more would say better only—for self-promotion, and a need for publicity. The two needs meet and attack each other. There is nothing, these days, like the threat of censorship, real or imagined, to create anxieties and create images at the box office.

That would not happen if we were not so solemn. To take another example, the information posted by Best Sexist Film, American People, has had its sales helped enormously by people exactly trying to prevent it from selling. It is at least possible that had the book been allowed to slip quietly onto the market, the marketplace would have taken care of it. No man, no horse, another book series like a stone.

Instead, American People and the attempts to prevent its publication and distribution have become a big story. And American People becomes a big book. There is nothing for about that, but there is something inevitable.

Several hours are at work that may always be at work. First the media cannot resist the power of controversy. And American People is written down every single thing they say. We just can't help ourselves. Second, people—some well-meaning, some not—feel this irresistible urge to do something wherever some new outrage hits the cinema, the library or the home screen. Third, other people will make up old Presidents of Eyeglasses and goating off to avoid the slams of the slightest provocations. We have not seen our last phony controversy.

While everyone lives a good one, the phony controversy does more harm than good. Just as good ideas survive attempts to suppress them, so do bad ideas. But they are probably helped, in Ernst Zindel's tale from Madonna as in Ernst Zindel. If there is an injustice in her case, it is that great rewards are going to her, while more talented people starve for lack of the gift of controversy.

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen.



Clark mainstreeting in Yellowknife: eager to show that Ottawa is serious about consulting the country

CANADA

A FRESH START

It was much like a lifetime romance between two rusty acquaintances at which the men quickly took a backseat to the conversation. The two listened and guards down, Yukon Government Leader Tony Probert and federal Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark talked for an hour at the Klondike Inn in Whitehorse late last week as they lunched on soup, salad and fish. After 60 years of bombarding the globe in his attempts to soothe international conflicts, the former external affairs minister had passed down to his new role as domestic diplomat. Clearly, Clark was eager to show that a new era has begun in relations between Ottawa and the rest of the country—and to signal that instead of dictating change to Canadians, the federal government would try to listen and respond to their demands. In the Yukon's leader, that new approach found a receptive audience. Declared Probert: "We felt drawn out of the old process. Mr. Clark's visit indicates a total turn."

For Probert, and indeed for many other Canadians who have felt excluded from the

DRAWING ON HIS DIPLOMATIC SKILLS, JOE CLARK LAUNCHES A GOODWILL MISSION TO PROMOTE UNITY

constitutional process, Clark's visit to Northern Canada—he also touched down in Inuit and Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories—sent a "very positive message" that Ottawa is in fact serious about consultation in bringing with that spirit, Clark, who heads a new 18-member cabinet constitutional committee, also conferred last week with Liberal Leader Jean Chretien in Ottawa and with 100

Leader Andrew McLaughlin in the Yukon, for hours raving. Clark's mission: to convince them to get aside, perhaps politics for the debate organizations that he shared. Both leaders received Clark warmly. But they were cautious about supporting the Conservative government before its plans for constitutional change are clear. Said Chretien: "We are not prepared to be co-opted into silence."

For his part, McLaughlin also insisted that his New Democrats would retain their independent voice. And she focused her attention on a new parliamentary committee that the Mulroney government will constitutionally study constitutional amendments. McLaughlin said that to be truly representative, that new committee should have equal representation of the parties in Parliament and even add representatives from outside groups. Declared McLaughlin: "Integration means that you have equal weight; it does not mean that we get to be cheerleaders."

Still, McLaughlin noted that during her meeting with Clark, she found the new consti-

tutional affairs ministry to be "quite open and receptive." And clearly, Clark appears to have personally dispelled the perception that Ottawa has approached the country's constitutional turmoil in a glacial pace since the collapse last June of the Meech Lake accord. By July 1, the government expects to receive the reports of all the Glaceau Forum on Canada's Future, which held public hearings across the country from January through April, and a joint parliamentary committee under Tory co-chairman James Edwards, the MP from Edmonton South-west, and Quebec Senator Gerald Boudreau, which has been examining ways to change the constitutional amending formula. Following that, Clark has announced, he and the special cabinet committee that he heads expect to approve by early July a draft proposal for amending the Constitution. By September, a final federal proposal will be presented for study by the new parliamentary committee.

That new committee is expected to begin work in July. It would then travel the country to seek out the opinions of provincial politicians and members of the public on any new federal constitutional proposals. Meanwhile, Ottawa clearly intends to keep its options open for establishing where demands for consultation, debate and even, finally, a national referendum. Among other possibilities: decreased legislation that would enable the government to establish some form of consultative assembly in deal with constitutional matters (page 16).

Meanwhile, work behind the scenes in Ottawa has been under way since late last year. An advisory team of five top Mulroney aides and civil servants, including the Prime Minister's chief of staff, Norman Stewart, and Paul Tait, chief of the Privy Council, meets regularly to discuss constitutional issues and plan strategy. Meanwhile, top secrets Clark leaks revealed by deputy ministers have been behind the federal-provincial dance of powers for months.

In Quebec, where demands for a transfer of federal powers have been the most sweeping there were signs last week that Ottawa's new constitutional attitudes could lend in its of compromise. Premier Robert Bourassa's Liberal government is committed to holding a referendum on the province's future and was expected to present a bill this week setting October, 1992, as the date. But last week, after Clark said that the rest of Canada might not be able to agree to deal by then, Bourassa suggested that the deadline could be extended. His advisers said that a referendum bill could easily be amended to change the date.

Even with last week's signals of flexibility over deadlines, the country's constitutional

crises remained layed. Chretien, for one, brushed off a stormy debate when he said that it was constitutionally possible for Canada to reach a constitutional deal without majority approval in Quebec. Chretien's speculation was rooted in reality: under the current constitutional amending formula, some changes can be made with the support of seven provinces containing at least 50 per cent of the population. Bourassa bluntly called Chretien's comments "political stupidity." But Chretien, stating that he was simply citing the terms of the Constitution, later insisted that in spite of the uproar, his stance was "strongly behind me" (page 18).

Clark plainly outstepped the dispute between Chretien and Bourassa. Still, with the difficult challenges that he ahead, some critics noted that the government cannot rely solely on such gestures of goodwill. And Clark will clearly encounter fewer friendly faces when he begins the important business of defining which powers Ottawa is prepared to cede—or not—to the provinces. Said Donald Desrosiers, a political scientist at the University of New Brunswick at Saint John: "Until now, the gov-



Mulroney and Bourassa in Montreal last week: flexibility

ernment has been very close to glorified public relations exercises in place of real proposals. They need to show some clear direction." But for others, Ottawa's new openness is, for the moment, clearly encouraging. In Whitehorse, Premier warned Clark that under an compromise should the government revert to the down-draft constitutional deal making that has characterized past negotiations. Calling that approach "old times," Probert bluntly told Clark: "It would fail. The public would reject it." Clearly, Clark is aware that while the challenge of keeping a broad consensus for constitutional change may seem daunting, the possibility of trying to proceed without one could be even more daunting.

KANCY WOOD with E. KATY FOLTZMAN in Ottawa

National Notes

OKA REVISITED

A House of Commons committee that studied last year's 34-day armed standoff near Oka, Que., called for an independent judicial inquiry into the crisis. The MPs, sitting in their report that the Quebec government had refused to negotiate, said that made it impossible for them to determine the sequence of events that led to this Meech Lake controversy into the confrontation with Quebec police and the army.

A SHOT IN THE DARK

Security was heightened around Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine after a bullet from a handgun was fired through the rear window of Dev's car in front of his Regina home on the evening of May 5. Devine, his wife and their five children were in the house at the time.

STRENGTH NURSES

About 5,500 Saskatchewan nurses from 100 hospitals began a province-wide strike. The nurses are seeking a 15-per-cent wage increase over two years. The hospitals have offered five per cent over one year.

A MAVERICK MP STEPS ASIDE

After an oftened and controversial years as chairman of the Commons finance committee, Conservative MP Donald Birkman announced that he was stepping down. Birkman's often noted objections to legislation supported by his own party, including tax reform and the Bank of Canada's highest-interest-rate policy.

COSTLY RESCUE

Ontario Court Judge Douglas Gowan sentenced two men, aged 16 and 17, whose names cannot be disclosed because they are young offenders, to 30 days detention and additional time in a group home for mischief related to the February, 1990, fire at a dog park near Magnien, Ont. The 14-year-old was sentenced to pay \$1.4 million fine at the dog park and forced the evacuation of over 1,800 area residents. The cleanup is expected to cost between \$30 million and \$50 million.

SPRING ON THE FRONT

Eric Smith, a controversial teacher who is carrying the AIDS virus, announced that he was giving up his two-year battle to return to the classrooms at the Cape Sable Island Educational School on Nova Scotia's southwestern tip. Smith, who was killed last year the classroom by eight students in 1987, said that he withdrew from stress due partly to anonymous threats of violence against him.

The people's case

Support grows for a constituent assembly

Maurice Laroche acknowledges that he has no special constitutional experience. At 60, the retired printer from Richmond, Ont., is humble about his education and apologetic still for having "skipped" university. But like many others who witnessed the death of the Meech Lake accord last year, Laroche is no longer interested that politicians and lawyers are more qualified than other Canadians to relieve the nation's current constitutional woes. In fact, he is joining a chorus across the land demanding more public participation by the public in future amendments to

Meech Lake accord was too secretive and elitist—has also argued for a constitutional convention. "What we did last time was no better failure, and I'm concerned that we're headed in that way again."

But the opposition to a constituent assembly is also strong. Liberal party leader Jean Chrétien, one of the drafters of the 1982 Constitution that Quebec refused to accept, has said that there may not be enough time to approve and complete a constituent assembly of Quebec as serious as its threat to hold a referendum on independence in about 18 months—although

was a forerunner there at hearings of the special parliamentary committee co-chaired by Thomas J. Lewis, Robert B. Brown, and Robert S. Brown. During 13 weeks of hearings last November, the 17-member committee heard members of group after group express their support for a constituent assembly.

The committee is now reviewing submissions in order to begin preparing a report. Co-chairman Bradman told Maclean's that it is still too early to say whether the committee will recommend the establishment of a constituent assembly. But he said "It will be one of the key points in the report. We will thoroughly examine the issue over the last few months, we certainly had a lot of discussions about it."

Turning that kind of grassroots pressure into a reality may be difficult, according to Marcel Ouellet, a communications expert and former Mulroney adviser who now chairs

the responsibility to make law. Those representatives, answering to the public, should also deal with matters concerning the ultimate law of the land, the Constitution. David Delplie, "What is right for lawmaking is right for constituent-building." Delplie and that he would have a constituent assembly only for a country writing its first constitution, as the Americans did after the War of Independence.

Even those who oppose a constituent assembly acknowledge that it is overshadowed by larger issues—among them, who would sit on the assembly and how members would be chosen. Some analysts favor an appointed assembly that would include elected politicians. But others say that such a body would exist outside of the democratic process—and without public accountability. University of Toronto political scientist Peter Russell, for one, says that the majority of constituent assembly members should be elected politicians—already empowered by their constituents to exercise their judgment on the issue. He believes that have been chosen by their peers. Observed Russell: "Representative democracy is better than any system that I know of, and if we give up on that, I think the alternative is just chaos."

Other experts also say that it would be a mistake to exclude politicians, who are accustomed to compromising between the often diverse demands of their constituents. In fact, according to Toronto constitutional lawyer Patrick Monahan, without the moderating presence of politicians in a constituent assembly, special-interest groups could play overly influential roles. For one thing, and Monahan who served as an adviser to former Ontario

premier David Peterson, business groups could press to have a clause written into the Constitution to restrain government spending and reduce budgetary deficits—a measure far too important to be decided outside of the democratic process.

As well, many critics express doubts that a constituent assembly could solve the nation's problems, instead, they say, it could become mired in the very regional and linguistic divisions that now threaten Canada's survival—and have bedeviled some constitutional attempts to solve the unity crisis. Edwards for one, told Maclean's that he is interested in the idea of a constituent assembly. But he noted "My skepticism is that it would be a free-for-all, unstructured, disorganized that could ultimately destroy the country." Added historian David Bergeron, dean of graduate studies at the University of Calgary: "The country is extremely divided. Any constituent assembly that represented the country as a whole would

also be deeply divided. What do you do with the results of it?"

Indeed, because identity dominated the whole understanding as "another quick come-and-see" But in spite of these concerns, it remains clear that many Canadians are keen to play a more visible role in the constitutional process. Maurice Laroche, for one, says that he is no longer prepared to merely cast his vote during elections—he the retired printer's own contribution to the democratic process. "People have to learn something, and they cannot learn something if they can only say 'yes' or 'no' at an election," he said. And that, at least, is one heartfelt emotion that governments risk no longer ignore.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa with
ANTHONY BLONKOWSKI in Montreal,
KARIN BERGERON in Toronto and
RUSSELL WILKINSON in St. John's, Nfld.



Edwards (left) and Bradman, MP Lorne Nyström facing pressure for public participation

the document that lays out the ground rules for the Canadian society. St. Lawrence: "The Constitution belongs to the people, not to the politicians. This is the ultimate document of the people and should reflect the people."

Increasingly, the demand for public participation has focused on proposals to create a constituent assembly, a body made up of both elected and ordinary Canadians from across the country empowered to discuss constitutional amendments. Indeed, that proposal is expected to figure prominently in the final report, due on July 1, of a special joint parliamentary committee that is studying the amending process. Apart from that, Ontario's NDP Premier Bob Ray has given his support to the proposal. Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells—like many Canadians, he said that the process that the First Ministers used to formulate the

Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa has indicated the process could be extended. Quebec politicians have to date widely refused to participate in an assembly. And largely because of that refusal, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has reacted coolly to the proposal, observing in April 25 "It would seem to me perhaps to be self-defeating to undertake an exercise which will only exacerbate difficulties."

Still, the Conservatives' recent emphasis on constitutional consultation with Canadians may signal a new willingness to consider the establishment of a constituent assembly. Observed Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark last week: "We have to move beyond the politicians." In fact, members of Mulroney's Tory caucus acknowledge that the idea is gaining popularity—and may become impossible for the government to dismiss out of hand. That

changes that they agreed on would then be submitted to a national referendum. For all that, those provinces with a majority of voters approved the changes, the legislatures would endorse them immediately. If at least half of Canada's population served a consensus of some provinces agreed to the amendments, the House of Commons and Senate would then ratify them. Elected and that such a move forward may seem desirable, he added: "We should not be intimidated—rather, we should be excited by the opportunity."

At the same time, some analysts say that it is an opportunity that Canadians should forgo. On May 1, visiting constitutional expert François Delplie, dean of law at McGill's Catholic University of Louisiana, noted in an appearance before the Bourassa-Edwards committee that voters have already given their parliamentary

A TRADITION OF DEMOCRACY

For the leaders of the 13 newly independent United States, the future of their democracy was at stake. The issue of confederation, set to place after the 1787 Declaration of Independence from Britain, looked a national association, a national polity and the authority to enforce laws across the nation. A requirement that any amendment of the nation's original constitution be made by a two-thirds majority of 13 states and a majority of the national population was not responsible. As a result, in May, 1787, the state legislatures agreed to send delegates to a special convention in Philadelphia—a groundbreaking experiment in democracy as a new confederation of states in a constituent assembly. There, over four sweltering months, the American delegates hammered out the first part of the world's oldest written constitution.

The work of that first constituent assembly resulted in a document that defined the balance of powers between the regional and central authorities, and emphasized that the power to govern should flow from be-

low, not above. "We the people," it began, "do ordain and establish this Constitution." The popular rhetoric insisted the fact that the framers were not particularly representative of the nation they had helped to create. Most of the 55 delegates were seasoned politicians and legislators—with no women or non-whites in their ranks. Still, the Philadelphia convention became a model for constituent-building as countries as disparate as France, Australia, Spain and Sweden.

That model has had a place in Canadian politics. The British North America Act—the original Canadian Constitution—was the product of a travelling convention of delegates from the colonial legislatures that deliberated over seven months in Charlottetown, Quebec City and London between 1864 and 1867. But like their U.S. predecessors, Canada's Fathers of Confederation were all politicians who deliberated behind tightly closed doors.

The Fathers of Confederation in Charlottetown, 1864: closed-door meetings

In fact, the closest Canadian case of an open and broadly based constituent assembly was held in Newfoundland before the 1969 referendum, in which Newfoundlanders voted to join Confederation. In June, 1968, special elections in the province's 48 districts created a representative convention that over the next two years openly debated Newfoundland's future. In the end, Newfoundland voters approved joining Canada—as option approved by the majority of convention members. Still, veteran journalist Michael Harrington, who was a member of the Newfoundland convention, says that a similar assembly could help resolve Canada's current crisis. Added Harrington: "People feel the need for a body that is representative of the country as a whole, rather than the politicians hogging it all."

ERIAN BERGERON

Nagging questions

The leadership issue pursues the Liberals

The same trio the party split during Jean Chrétien's last years at the helm and was to have been put to rest with the election last June of Turner's replacement, Jean Chrétien. But since then, the leadership question has returned to plague the Liberals after a series of political gaffes and policy flips by Chrétien that have alienated many in the party and damaged even some of his closest supporters. And last week, as Liberal MPs and senators convened in Ottawa for a two-day caucus meeting to prepare for the May 13 reopening of Parliament, they found their deliberations—and their satisfaction over a first-place position in public opinion polls—more again overshadowed by renewed uncertainty and public criticism of Chrétien's performance.

The latest controversy was triggered by Chrétien's call in an April 21 speech to Montreal for a national referendum to settle any constitutional changes. In the past, Chrétien has been harshly critical of referendums as unconstitutionally divisive—a position still held by many members of the caucus, including leadership rival Paul Martin. And charges that he had simply reversed his policy, Chrétien added to the criticism by suggesting at a Quebec City news conference that a core constitutional deal was possible without the approval of a majority of Quebecers.

That statement produced a predictable storm of scores in Quebec, where Chrétien is struggling to dispel the myth that he is a brawler in the province's nationalist movement. But most worrisome to some Liberals was the fact that the once-marched Chrétien had miscommunicated in making such statements. For one thing, advisors had warned him that the referendum strategy was fraught with traps.

In another, Chrétien acknowledged that he will make errors but also called the ups and downs with a solid speech. "He is going to make mistakes," said Toronto Liberal MP James Peterson. "We all are more prone to forgetting that. Just, quite frankly, I have seen gaffes." But, Chrétien's advisors went on to talk more about the troubled economy, which external party polls show is of far greater concern to Canadians—including Quebecers—than the Constitution. For Chrétien, the pressure has continued to improve his public performance—and to finally put the leadership question to rest.

BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa



Rayat (center): 'the actions of the accused were knowingly dangerous'

A verdict on terror

'Unique circumstances' convict Singh Rayat

Just as he had seen his trial begin last Sept. 17, Jindraj Singh Rayat sat impassively in B.C. Superior Court Room 67 last week. Wearing a dark-blue turban, turquoise sweater, short, blue pants and high-cut sandals, the 38-year-old Sikh and former resident of Dutton, B.C., displayed no emotion as Judge Raymond Parris read his judgment on Rayat's involvement in the June 23, 1985, explosion that killed two baggage handlers at Tokyo's Narita airport. The judge, during a trial that lasted almost eight months, had found complex scientific testimony regarding almost 1,600 tiny bits of material left from the explosion site by Japanese forensic investigators. And the court had heard Crown prosecutor James Jerle's circumstantial evidence linking Rayat to the Narita airport bomb. Last week, Parris found that those links were sufficient to convict Rayat on all counts—five of manslaughter and five of explosives-related offences. Said Parris: "In sum, the actions of the accused were unlawful, knowingly dangerous and caused death."

The prosecution contended that the Narita airport bomb exploded in Japan as a missile on C-74 Flight 003 from Vancouver. The suit case was lugged to be loaded onto an Air India flight to Bombay. Had it exploded on that plane, the blast would have virtually coincided with another of the coast of Ireland. That explosion, on an Air India flight from Toronto to Montreal to Bombay via London, sent 329 people aboard to their deaths in the Atlantic Ocean. Police are still investigating that crash, which occurred at a time when separatist Sikhs were

intensifying their campaign against the Indian government for an independent homeland.

In the Rayat case, the "Herculean task" of the Japanese investigators, according to Parris, uncovered among other damning evidence a cardboard fragment stamped with the letter M. The prosecution argued that the M was part of the packaging of six Suigo meters sold at Duxies. One of the bomb's components was a Suigo meter—and Rayat had purchased a Suigo meter at Duxies.

Also found at the site were other components of the bomb. Among them, fragments of an anonymous address tape identical to tape found at Rayat's home, pieces of the same kind of Motorola car clock that Rayat had bought in 1985, and portions of an Enemedy 32-watt battery, the kind that Rayat had bought in Duxies. In his ruling, Parris said that none of those items was linked uniquely to Rayat. Still, he said, "That unique combination of circumstances could not be fortuitous. The only reasonable inference is that Rayat was involved in the fabrication of the bomb."

When Parris concluded reading his judgment, Rayat's lawyer, Mark Hilford, shook his client's hand and said, "I'm sorry." Hilford said later that he might consider an appeal. For his part, Crown prosecutor Jerle said, "We are very pleased to have a conviction—the fruits of some 24 years of work." Parris will sentence Rayat on June 7, just 36 days short of the sixth anniversary of two deadly terrorist attacks half a world apart.

RAJ GUJRAL in Vancouver



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'A new life in Canada'

An Iraqi apologist wins landed-immigrant status

For more than six months, until just before the outbreak of the Gulf War on Jan. 16, Mohamed al-Mashat, Iraq's ambassador to the United States, had unashamedly defended his country's military aggression of which Kuwait the previous August. The embassy in Washington changed the U.S. media were advised by Iraqi spokesmen, including an "ambassador of fact" that dastardly American views of Iraq. But when President Saddam Hussein recalled his government's envoy at Washington on the eve of the war, Mashat, 60, did not go home. Instead, on Jan. 18, he flew to London and then to Vienna where in late February he applied at the Canadian embassy to immigrate as an independent refugee. That procedure can take as long as one year. But a mere four weeks later, on March 27, Canadian officials approved his application, three days later, Mashat landed in Canada with his wife and son—and effectively disappeared. Indeed, it was not until last week that the diplomat's presence became known to the Canadian public and, more surprisingly, to the ministry of immigration and external affairs.

While the Canadian officials who processed Mashat's application appeared to have followed regulations, their actions embarrassed their political bosses in Ottawa. Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt, appointed to the post on April 21, told reporters he was "lurid" that neither he nor the previous and present ministers of External Affairs, Jim Clark and Barbara McDougall, learned about Mashat until he already had a visa. "I find it incredible, unacceptable that this could happen" said Valcourt, who ordered an internal inquiry into the case. Al-Mashat, who had served as an immigration officer in the Canadian Ministry of External Affairs in the April cabinet shuffle, revealed that during the period when Mashat was going entry to Canada, he turned down an application by another high-ranking Iraqi official. Meanwhile, opposition MPs pressed on the issue. Staff in the External Affairs critic Saddam Hussein. "This was a case like a dumping ground for one of the chief apologists of Saddam Hussein."

Canadian officials denied that the so-called fast-track admission of Mashat resulted from his status as a secret officer who might be able to provide valuable intelligence. A spokesman said that immigration officials ruled the former ambassador's application only because of

concerns that "his life may be at risk." For his part, Gerry Connaught, a spokesman for the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service in Ottawa, said that the CSIS had no involvement in the affair beyond a routine security check at Vienna. And in Washington, spokesman Robert Boucher said that the state department had not been informed about Mashat's application to move to Canada.

Still, some observers contend that Iraqi embassies are Hussein's outpost for surveillance



Mashat: reservations about Hussein's policies

and repression of Iraqi dissidents in foreign countries, and for the procurement of weapons. John Thompson, a military affairs specialist at the Toronto-based Maclean's Institute, said that Mashat's intimate knowledge of Iraqi security activities would make him useful to Western intelligence services. Otherwise, said Thompson, "I see no reason for us taking him in."

And such speculation, Mashat confided in Vancouver late in the week end, is an interview on CBC TV's *The Journal*, denied that he had traded a promise of intelligence or money for quick admission to Canada. "For a long time I was thinking about retirement," he said. "The

war, he added, helped convince him to "start a new life with my family." But he refused to comment on Hussein's regime, saying only that "I had some reservations on his policies."

That reluctance to set himself apart from Hussein could result in a cool reception from the Iraq-Canadian community, particularly among refugees who fled Iraq's Baathist regime and who are now stuck in a backlog of more than 100,000 citizens waiting to have their applications processed. Also, some who have spent three years in Toronto waiting to obtain landed-immigrant status, told Mashat that it was unclear that Mashat's application was processed so quickly. And Montreal resident Amer Alomari, a 44-year-old Iraqi-born economist, said that most Iraq-Canadians are surprised that the government rejected someone who was so close to Saddam Hussein.

"Iraqis have disagree with the government's decision to let him come," said Alomari. "The majority have no sympathy for this man."

The son at the centre of the storm is no stranger to life in the West. Born in 1930 near Baghdad, Mashat earned a master's degree in cosmology at the University of California at Berkeley and a PhD in sociology at the University of Maryland at College Park. During that time, he married his first wife, an American Roman Catholic, with whom he had two children. The marriage ended in divorce in 1972 after the couple had moved to Iraq, and Mashat's ex-wife and both children returned to the United States. Soon after, Mashat married his current wife, an Iraqi, and they have a 17-year-old son. While in Iraq, Mashat taught at Baghdad University and later became involved in politics while serving the country's university sector of education, and of labor and social affairs. During the 1960s, he joined the socialist Baath party and met Hussein. Before his posting to Washington, Mashat had been ambassador to Austria, France and Britain.

At week's end, it was clear that by giving access to Canada as an immigrant, Mashat may have played out his greatest act of diplomacy. Some observers say that he'll be rewarded with a visa or refugee status, the former ambassador would have jeopardized the lives of family members still in Iraq. By applying as an immigrant, they say, Mashat was able to avoid publicly denouncing Saddam's Iraq and in Toronto, disavow claims that he said that Hussein would do Mashat little good if he chose to return to Iraq. "Saddam would let him right away," says and, "He would make him better out of him." And although Mashat swears that "I love Iraq," he has bought a \$322,000 house overlooking Vancouver harbor—apparently best on leaving in.

JAMES DEACON with GLEN ALLEN
in Ottawa and DAN ELKREZ in Montreal

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Cloudy on the coast

William Vander Zalm casts a long shadow

A plastic tarpaulin protected the red carpet on the lower steps of the British Columbia legislature. But the light morning rain showed signs of abating as time for the early-afternoon arrival of visiting guests, dignitaries, house guard and—in leathered hat, gold-headed uniform and wearing his ceremonial sword—Lt.-Gen. David Lam. All appeared to be in readiness for a historic event. For the first time in Canada, a woman—the Social Credit party's Rita Johnston—would take the first minister's seat as a legislator. For the first time, the historic speech of a woman premier would be read. But just three hours before the opening of the new legislative session on May 7, Johnston and Lam presided over another official ceremony: the swearing-in of three cabinet ministers to new or expanded portfolios. The changes, Johnston explained, became necessary after the late "regrettably deceased" minister and incumbent" the resignation of her former minister, Mel Coe. Johnston, who had become the interim Social Credit leader after William Vander Zalm resigned the premiership in disgrace on April 3, "just when we seem to be getting a little bit ahead, we seem to slide backwards instead."

Indeed, by the time the legislature's red carpet was rolled up that evening afternoon, the historic session may have had less over-shadowed by the familiar spectacle of Social Credit and scandal. Coe's resignation and Johnston's resignation, whose party faces a leadership convention in July and an election due by the end of the year, and that she had no option but to ask for Coe's resignation. Her resignation, who angrily denied any wrongdoing, suggested that Johnston had fired him to remove a potential rival



Vander Zalm: a spectacle of Social Creditting and scandal

the party leadership race. As for Vander Zalm, the former premier returned to the legislature last week—as guest Johnston's urging—to act as a backbench M.L.A. Asked by reporters to comment on Coe's departure, the ex-premier replied, "I don't understand it at all." For Coe's resignation, it was the second time in two months that he had left the cabinet over the Fantasy Gardens controversy. On March 9, Coe's resignation after Vander Zalm refused to step aside while under investigation for conflict of interest in the sale. After B.C. cabinet-colonial commissioner Edward Hughes concluded that the premier had breached his own cabinet guidelines, Vander Zalm resigned, despite previous Johnston's refusal to— and quickly reappointed Coe.

Then, Vander Zalm, whose business affairs were still under investigation by the A.C.R., appealed to the B.C. Supreme Court to overturn Hughes's findings. The judge reserved his decision, but the appeal opened up a political

hole in the coat of arms. Among documents that Vander Zalm filed with the court was a confidential memo sent on Oct. 1 by a finance ministry investigator to the premier's representative of financial institutions. It indicated that Wye Leung, who acted as real estate agent at the Fantasy Gardens sale, was under investigation by the RCMP. Coe's resignation passed the memo on to Vander Zalm's deputy premier the next day. Vander Zalm last week told reporters that he had cleared all the information.

Johnston at first maintained that Coe's resignation had done nothing wrong. But after receiving the legal opinion, she said that she requested Coe's resignation, telling reporters that the former finance minister "made a mistake, and he has taken the proper course of action." Shortly afterwards, an angry Coe told reporters, "I did not resign. I was fired." Coe said that he was outraged by Johnston's public accusation that he had broken a law. "All I can leave public life with is my resignation," and Coe said, "I am not prepared to believe it on the basis of some assumptions which are far from true."

Coe's resignation, a former corporate accountant and member of the Senate, followed that up the next day by sending a blistering letter to Johnston in which he demanded a judicial review of the legal opinion that she had obtained. He also said that he had received several independent legal opinions that exonerated him. Coe also told Johnston that he had received numerous telephone calls from Socialists who had concluded that "your request for my resignation was politically motivated by a desire by you to eliminate all potential opposition to you in the forthcoming leadership convention."

Johnston responded in a letter to Coe that such assumptions were "completely untrue." For his part, Attorney General Russell Brown denied Coe's demand for a judicial review. But two days after he was fired, Coe's resignation emerged from a private meeting with Johnston to announce that he and the premier had agreed to ask B.C. Chief Justice Stephen Owen to rule on whether the former finance minister had broken the law by passing the memo on. Whatever the outcome, the accusation may further shake the Socialists' slide in public opinion. An Angus Reid poll conducted before the latest debacle and released last week showed the Socialists scored when they have placed for the past two years—a 15 per cent vote—behind the opposition New Democrats. And with an election call imminent, Johnston and her colleagues could only look ahead to a closely fought race of reform within a party that has governed British Columbia since 1978, for all but three of the past 39 years.

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Bush in hospital with visiting grandchildren. Health could become an issue

WORLD

MATTERS OF THE HEART

At the White House, it was positively business as usual. After returning to the Oval Office from his 28-hour stay at Maryland's Bethesda Naval Hospital, where he was rushed after suffering from an irregular heartbeat while jogging on May 4, U.S. President George Bush resumed his typically lax work schedule last week, meeting U.S. Secretary General Javier Pérez de Celler, former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Camerounian President Paul Biya. Bush's doctors diagnosed his problem as "benign" disease, a condition that causes an erratic heartbeat and, in rare, produces the irregular heartbeat. He drank a prescribed

BUSH'S QUICK RETURN TO WORK DID NOT CALM PUBLIC DOUBTS ABOUT QUAYLE'S ABILITY TO LEAD

dose of radioactive iodine that, doctors said, should quickly restore the irregular rhythm of the 68-year-old Bush. But, earlier, the frantic display of presidential activity, not the reassuring medical regimen, could calm the heart furthest of the American public: were a suddenly straining man the ability of Bush's second in command, Vice-President Dan Quayle, to adequately replace him. "It downright scares people to death," said Atlanta politician Clatsburg. "The country doesn't feel comfortable that he is a heartbeat from the President and the rest of us."

That was evident throughout the week, as newspaper columnists, on talk shows and in public opinion polls. Despite his 28 months in office, the 44-year-old Quayle has been unable to shake his image of a teenage pretty boy that has dogged him since Bush chose the relatively obscure Indiana senator as his running mate in 1988. Last week, 62 per cent of respondents to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll said that they worried about the prospect of a Quayle presidency, while 54 per cent said that Bush should replace him on the party ticket at 1992. Despite Quayle's conservative politics, even syndicated right-wing columnist Patrick Buchanan concluded, "Mr. Quayle is not seen as having exhibited that visible strength of character the Romans called *gravitas*." Foreign observers also weighed in on the Quayle question. In London, *The Guardian* editorialized: "When George Bush chooses his chest and fights for breath, so do millions around the world."

The President's quickly waning of Quayle's defense. Moving forward suffered under a persistent swirling image during his eight years as the shadowy vice-presidential pick. Bush told a news conference that he sympathized with Quayle, and added, "I think he's getting a bad rap as the person, growing on him when he's doing a day-care job." Bush repeated his pledge to retain Quayle as his running mate. And many analysts said, the President was certain to honor that pledge—unless his career, public-opinion rating, rose at 81 per cent due to the outcome of the Gulf War. It could drop precipitously.

For the moment, at least, the President's newly diagnosed disease does not appear to pose a major problem. Bush's wife, Barbara, also has Graves' disease—disease that is strictly medical. The President's friends, they said, should fully return to normal functioning in two to three months. Meanwhile, he will continue to take several days to present a reassurance of the entire heartbeat and related problems. "The heart is perfect," Bush told reporters, "so I'm very lucky."

The President's political health was also good, despite potential dangers. He has been substantiated recent media reports about White House Chief of Staff John Sununu's frequent flying on military aircraft, often for personal business. In response, Bush issued a list of guidelines last week, banning the chief of staff from using military planes for personal and political trips. At the same time, Democratic legislators are considering whether to open a formal inquiry into allegations that a member or members of the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign, trying to defeat then-President Jimmy Carter, struck a deal with him to delay the release of American hostages until after the U.S. presidential election. Last week, Bush did not specifically comment on that charge. But he characterized allegations that he was personally involved in such a deal as "half-faced lies."

No matter what the outcome of that suit, the questions about Quayle seem unlikely to go away. They have coalesced his Senate, a reference to his pension for golf.

Last week, Quayle's defenders mounted an extensive campaign, preparing substantial Washington columns with copies of handwriting Quayle speeches crafted by his handlers. They played up his service as chief of the National Space Council and his role in support of the Gulf War. He has also been championed of such right-wing issues as government spending cuts, tax breaks for the rich and a drastic overhaul of social programs.

In fact, many political analysts dismissed suggestions that Bush would drop Quayle. Some argued that the President was smart in showing his loyalty to the younger man—and so not admitting that he had made a mistake. Still, Republican columnist Charles Krauthammer said, "Even if he thought that Quayle was having him, he's not going to desert him." Some even suggest that Quayle plays a useful role by placating the Republican right while the President pursues outside of the deal with the President, since it will be the political price of dropping Quayle would be unpredictable—and possibly high. "You can't ensure that it won't blow up like a grenade in your hand," said Bush and Scarborough, director of the Washington-based *Services Research Group*. Added Richard Viguerie, chairman of the United Conservatives of America: "He'll be saying in 18-20 years, 'I made a mistake in 1988.'"

Some analysts, however, argue that Bush could turn a drop Quayle's misfortune into a political virtue, offering him a respectable, colorful past and choosing a stronger man to replace him. Respondents to public opinion polls last week suggested several candidates. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, Secretary of State James Baker, Persian Gulf War hero, Norman Schwarzkopf and Gov. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Powell, who is black, offers the intriguing possibility of breaking the traditional Democratic grip on the White House.

Republican strategist Lyn Nofziger said that "George Bush could justly jacking Powell without saying that Dan Quayle is not qualified or that he made a mistake." Bush, added Nofziger, could package Powell in the race who could secure the Republican grip on the presidency over a solid new man. Harrison Hickman, a Democratic party politician, said that dropping Quayle "would remove the one doubt people have about Bush—I'd bet that that doubt would become persistent." But as long as Bush retains Quayle as vice-president, he can at least take comfort in one thing: the odds that he or others of people will be playing for his health.

BILLY MACKENZIE in Washington

World Notes

VOYAGING FOR GUN CONTROL

The U.S. House of Representatives overwhelmingly passed the so-called Brady bill requiring a national seven-day waiting period for handgun sales. The bill, named for Rep. Henry Clay Brady, passed yesterday. But House gun control secretary James Brady, who was crippled in the 1981 attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan, now goes to the Senate. President George Bush has threatened to veto the legislation unless it is part of a broader anti-crime bill.

SEEKING A SPOT ON THE

When Webster resigned after four years as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, President George Bush said that he had not yet chosen the 61-year-old Webster as successor, but that deputy national security adviser Robert Gates was a "worthy man." Gates was nominated for the post in 1987 but he withdrew his name after encountering opposition in the Senate over his alleged involvement in the Iran-contra scandal.

BACK TO THE FIVE

Russian riot police were used to end a devastating eight-week-old strike, averting a clash with President Mikhail Gorbachev. The vote came after the Russian agreed to hand control of the conflict over to the Russian republic, whose leader, Boris Yeltsin, has pledged to transfer ownership of the mines to the workers.

FIGHTING ZULUS

A big effort of South Africa's Inkatha Freedom party threatened to delay 200,000 Zulu vigilantes in Swaziland to confront supporters of the rival Black African National Congress, unless the ANC ends fighting between Inkatha and its supporters. The violence has claimed an estimated 1,500 people since last August. Inkatha leaders said that they were considering pulling out of talks with the Pretoria government to protect police and Zulu workers in Swaziland from Johannesburg.

KOREAN CRISIS

More than 200,000 demonstrators demanding the ouster of President Roh Tae-woo gathered in the South Korean capital of Seoul and other major cities, leading police with clubs and batons. The demonstrations were the largest since June, 1987, when mass protests forced the military government of President Chun Doo-hwan to introduce democratic reforms. Bush's government pledged into public that it would not send a 30-year-old American soldier, serving in a Gyeongju station in Seoul on April 28.



Quayle trying to dispel an image of incompetence

away. In Bush's 1988 run for the presidency, supporters may be helped that the senator's youth, good looks and conservative credentials would appeal to several constituencies. But critics insisted that Bush, in eight years in Ronald Reagan's shadow, was content on having the limelight to himself, with no competition from a strong second. In any case, the choice of Quayle, the son of an Indiana newspaper publisher, quickly became controversial. His academic record was mediocre, and his decision to enlist in the Indiana National Guard (where that same in Vietnam could find veteran) groups.

Quayle also hurt himself by committing a series of verbal misfires. "I don't live in this country," he once declared, trying to explain an earlier blunder about the Holocaust. And he became the butt of countless jokes. "Dan Quayle is not a bad guy," said pollster Douglas "He's 5-foot-8. But the worst is next step deep. Even the Secret Service seems to make light of

THE SOVIET UNION

A dirty little war

Ethnic violence divides Georgia

The dead lie buried in makeshift graves in the front yard of Rensselaer School Number 5 in the Soviet Georgian enclave of South Ossetia. There are 34 mounds of ethnic strife since last January, when Georgian militia seized the area after the republic's parliament revoked South Ossetia's declaration of independence.

The militiamen are gone now, but the threat of ambush by Georgian guerrillas along the road to the local cemetery has kept residents from giving their dead a proper burial. "The whole town is becoming a cemetery," said Dava Djedjola, a 35-year-old elementary-school teacher in the rebel city of Tskhinvali (population 65,000). The southern republic's dirty little war has claimed more than 60 lives over the past four months. And last week, in the aftermath of an April 20 earthquake that killed at least 144 people in the region, the crackle of gunfire as the distance was graphic evidence of the continuing struggle of ethnic in Russia's South Ossetia. "We used to live in peace with our Georgian neighbors," Djedjola said. "But now they want to drive us out of here—and we will not go."

Those words told a familiar story in the Soviet Union's troubled Caucasus Mountain region, as the Kremlin's once-rigid control has weakened, violent ethnic clashes have erupted between Armenians and neighboring Azerbaijanis, and in Soviet Georgia. For the more than 100,000 residents of South Ossetia, most of whom are Moslems, the presence of Soviet soldiers provides an uncertain buffer between the Georgian nationalists who seek to keep the enclave as part of their homeland. In fact, the feud between the Georgians and Ossetians is at least two centuries old. But it has flared again as the tiny area's dream to return local autonomy has collided with Georgia's desire to shake off Communist rule. For Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, Georgia's demand for freedom threatens to tear through the center of a sprawling and splintering Russia. And unlike Russia, Latvia and Lithuania, the rebellious Baltic republics that

the USSR. Ironically annexed in 1940, Georgia became part of the Soviet Union in 1921, only four years after the Bolshevik Revolution.

Now, the republic's greatest says that he wants to foster a market economy in the fertile land where the ancient Silk Road trade route still links Asia and Europe. Brad Gensel



Soviet troops guarding Tskhinvali, a 200-year-old ethnic feud between Georgians and Ossetians

also, the overwhelming desire to stay in place. In a May 26 election, in the most widely known poll since among Georgia's 5.4 million residents. But in the questionable results of the republic's elections, where the measure of government is the number of bodyguards that a leader commands, the 53-year-old Genselberidze is routinely described as either a dictator-in-waiting, or the only man capable of taking on Moscow—and winning.

Certainly in the streets of Tskhinvali, where homemade houses and concrete barricades are mute reminders of the fighting that flared in and around the South Ossetian capital, most people invoke Genselberidze's name only as a name of fear and loathing. Writers to the besieged town, which has suffered lengthy electrical power blackouts since Feb. 3 and which is chronically short of food, are invariably shown stark evidence of Genselberidze's

treatment of ethnic minorities. The city's ransacked drama theatre is one exhibit. Georgian militia units lived in the building during their three-week occupation of the city last January. The Georgians withdrew after the Kremlin threatened to impose direct rule in the republic, but the townspeople have left the occupiers' vandalism untouched—including a decapitated marble statue of the 19th century Ossetian poet Kosta Kartagapov. And nearby, flanking photographs of the 34 Ossetians killed in ethnic strife stare out from a mangled collapse in the windows of the elementary school.

But outside the city, Georgians relate their own tales of Ossetian violence against their villages. Last week, near a heavily sandbagged highway police station that now serves as a checkpoint for Soviet interior ministry ad-

mins, groups of Georgians huddled beside an armored personnel carrier whose olive-green body partially blocked the wind that was sweeping down from the foothills. They were waiting for two other armored vehicles to arrive and escort a 20-truck convoy of refugees to Georgian villages on the other side of Tskhinvali. One village, who wished to remain anonymous, said that he had already endured a four-hour wait. But he added "We would not get through the city alive if those soldiers were not with us."

In the Georgian capital of Tbilisi, 85 km to the southwest, nationalists cite local parallels between the current violence around Tskhinvali and the upheavals of a civil war that wracked the Soviet Union after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. At that time, the Ossetians sided with the eventually victorious Red Army. And after the Red Army crushed a fledgling



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WORLD

Georgian state in 1921, the Ossetians were awarded with the enclave as Georgia as well as North Ossetia—a larger homeland across the border with Russia. Now, according to Gerasimchuk and other Georgian nationalists, the Kremlin is demanding that it must in order to ensure Georgia's independence there. In fact, suspicion of Moscow is so widespread in Tbilisi that Gerasimchuk and others have suggested, however implausible, that the Soviets used special technology to set off the April 20 earthquake as part of a plot to destabilize the region.

Gerasimchuk, who has headed the pace and caused storms of his dissident days for carefully tailored, double-breasted suits, is the founder of the Round Table. That is a loose, anti-Communist outfit that was 150 of 250 seats in the republic's legislature but fell in the first genuine multiparty election in Soviet history. Since then, under the direction of a man who has been in and out of jail since his first arrest at the age of 17 for disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda, legislators have been busy eradicating the symbols of Soviet rule. To that end, the parliament has dropped the words "Soviet" and "socialist" from the republic's constitution, removed the obligatory status of Vladimir Lenin from central Tbilisi and approved legislation declaring Georgia's independence day as its April 9. That date was carefully chosen: it marked the two-year anniversary of a bloody incident in the capital, when Soviet troops armed with sharp-edged shovels attacked a peaceful demonstration, killing 26 people.

Gerasimchuk's friends and foes alike acknowledge that such actions are creating a new



Georgian building damaged by earthquake disaster

nation that both the critics, Moscow, and the black) are easy steps in the move towards independence. More difficult decisions still lie ahead. According to Georgian economist Valerian Abashvili, a presidential candidate, the republican government has done little to dismantle the economic structures of the former Communist regime, restore private ownership of land or shift it to a market economy. But Gerasimchuk and his followers argue that such problems as the South Os-

setian conflict takes precedence over economic and agrarian reform. And is a short break from capitalism real work for them? Gerasimchuk told Malcolin that an independent Georgia would thrive under a market system, even though it would have to pay hard currency for the Soviet oil and gas that it currently receives. Said Gerasimchuk, "It is hard to make changes quickly, as we have been trapped in the Soviet economy for 70 years."

In that regard, even many of Gerasimchuk's critics say that they are ready to see Georgia's problems arise from the inside. They cite his tight control over land matters, a tendency to regard political opponents as enemies of Georgia and his failure to find a political solution to the South Ossetian issue as indications that he is less on becoming a dictator. But Gerasimchuk scoffs at these suggestions, insisting that he wants his children to grow up in a democratic, Christian Georgia, not on South Ossetia, the president is unwilling. "It is Georgian land," he says. With opposing sentiments just as strong as South Ossetia, and the Kremlin still reluctant to loosen its grip on the empire, the bloody clashes in and around Tbilisi are a formidable standing block on Georgia's road to independence—and another headache for the beleaguered Gorbachev.

MALCOLM GLATZ in Tbilisi

STALIN'S CHILLING LEGACY

In the springtime heat of Soviet Georgia last week, a case of deepening and caricatures mirrored the horrible burnings of Josef Stalin's first house—a falling May Day tale from a few decades in Gori, the provincial town where the Soviet dictator was born in 1879. Later that fall, he became, the personality cult that Stalin fostered during his lifetime in the wilderness. Now, when his house was situated in a mountainous place, the simple, two-story brick cottage that was one of Soviet communism's most secret shrines, the party lot is empty. In fact, when the act of suppression that Stalin himself personally employed, his successors in the Kremlin have closed down the memorial, located 60 km northwest of Tbilisi, the Georgian capital. But a caretaker at the site logically dismissed the official reasons for the closure: renovations

Said Glatz, a 70-year-old war veteran who would not dwell on his last name. "It has been three years now and no one will tell us what we will receive."

In recent, somewhat visitors still come to Gori (population 50,000) to see this birthplace of the leader who industrialized the Soviet Union, led the country to victory over the Nazis during the Second World War—and killed, against considerable opposition, his fellow revolutionaries. In a word, he was the ruler of the abominable's son, the cottage is shrouded by a marbled cloth of black-and-white tiles and crisscrossed by a



Stalin in 1932: a finished hero

grounds, after Tbilisi, 20, declared "These buildings are part of our history, and they should be open."

But Tbilisi, like many Soviet citizens, was clearly ambivalent about Stalin's role in history. The enormous began by inadvertently comparing President Mikhail Gorbachev with Stalin. "We need a leader who can impose our discipline," said Tami "Gorbachev's policies are leading to the breakup of the country." Then, as if to remind himself of Stalin's daily exercises, Tami added, "On the other hand that would mean more victims of repression." That comment, at least, reflects the widespread changes that have occurred since Stalin's death in 1953. In doing his regime, no one would have dared name any criticism of the country's leadership.

M. G.



Croatians lining army tanks: violent differences over the country's future

YUGOSLAVIA

Back from the brink

The army moves in to prevent civil war

The shooting usually began when night falls. For most of the past two months, Croatian policemen and Serbian civilians have fought frequent gun battles throughout the Yugoslav republic of Croatia in towns and hamlets, subdued usually by the Serbian minority. Then, on May 2, a group of Croatian policemen walked into the Serbian-dominated town of Đakovo. A gun battle erupted and 17 people died, the bloodiest ethnic clash in Yugoslavia since the Second World War. And last week, an estimated 300,000 demonstrators attended a rally held in the Croatian city of Split, calling a young conscript from the republic of Macedonia. With the nation of 23.5 million people teetering on the brink of civil war, Yugoslavia's fractious eight-year presidency went far from being a time of emergency sessions last week—finally emerging with an agreement to deploy federal troops in Croatia. The pact appeared to avert widespread bloodshed. But, said one veteran Western diplomat who wished to remain anonymous, "Yugoslavia's slide into civil war is likely only to have been held up temporarily."

Rising tensions in Croatia have been fueled by the republican government's threat to se-

cede from Yugoslavia unless the multi-ethnic country is reorganized into a loose federation. In response, many of the 600,000 Serbs in the republic of 4.5 million people have declared their intent to be independent of Croatia. For two months, leaders of Yugoslavia's six republics and two provinces have been holding talks in an effort to resolve the conflict. Leaders of Serbia, the largest and traditionally dominant republic, have argued for emergency rule in Croatia to protect the Serbian minority there. But Croatian leaders have rejected any such move as an infringement on their sovereignty.

Last week's agreement came only after Defense Minister Gen. Veljko Kladovčević threatened to impose military rule to end the unrest unless the presidency, which includes representatives from each of the republics and provinces, resolves the conflict. The pact calls for the creation of a group of Croats and Serbs to examine "all political questions that are deemed to be the cause of the crisis." It also calls on the military to take control of Serbian civilians within Croatia and to disarm all civilian and paramilitary groups in the republic.

It remained unclear, however, if the order to disarm applies to the Croatian republic's re-

served police force, which has grown to 70,000 members since free elections in Croatia brought the center-right Croatian Democratic Union to power last year. But late last week, Croatian President Franjo Tuđman said that he would not permit the dismantling of Croatia's police force. And that, analysts said, makes it unlikely that Serbian civilians will turn in their weapons willingly.

Disfranchisement of the Serbs and the Croats, Yugoslavia's two largest ethnic groups, is deeply rooted in history. After the Second World War, Communist strategists Joseph Broz Tito repressed ethnic differences in Yugoslavia, a country that was imposed in 1918 from the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires. But since Tito's death in 1980, old tensions have re-emerged. And they have resurfaced since free elections last year brought nationalist governments to power in each of the republics.

Those tensions have taken a particularly severe toll on families divided along ethnic lines. For example, when asked that their last names not be used, Ivo in Vukovar, a town in eastern Croatia with a large Serbian minority, a Serb, and Ivana, a Croat, said last week that they think of themselves as Yugoslavs, but that few people still think of themselves that way. Fighting at the town bars they have installed over their windows, Ivana said, "That's what it's like inside our minds. We are still very much a family, but we feel the forces around us trying to smash us apart."

When she was a child, Ivana said, her father used to talk bitterly about the postwar, Serb-dominated government that sentenced him to six years in jail for flying a Croatian national flag. Her husband, Zoran, said that he remembers hearing stories about family friends who were rounded up and massacred by minority police loyal to Croatia's fascist government during the Second World War. But Zoran, 38, and Ivana, 38, grew up under Tito's rule and, they said, when they married in 1972, the old Serb-Croat antagonism seemed to be ancient history. Now, that history is repeating itself. Their 13-year-old son, Dušan, goes to a school where children have formed rival Serb and Croat gangs. When Dušan came home one afternoon last week, Ivana said, "He wanted us to declare ourselves Americans or Germans or Norwegians and go and live somewhere far away." In a country that's coming apart at the seams, the day may come, very soon, when they may not be able to call themselves Yugoslavs at all.

MARY McNEIL with GORDON BRADSHAW in Belgrade

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THE VICTIMS

WARS, NATURAL DISASTERS AND FAMINE THREATEN MILLIONS AROUND THE WORLD

In Bangladesh, a cyclone kills at least 125,000 people and leaves millions more at risk of starvation and plague. In the Middle East, civil war drives an estimated 1.5 million Kurds from their homes, leaving countless thousands to die of hunger, cold and disease. In South America, a cholera epidemic claims at least 1,300 lives every morning with the coast of the southern water. And beyond those disasters looms the spectre of mass famine in Africa which, relief experts say, could kill between 20 and 30 million people. Taken together, the underdeveloped world currently presents a picture of natural and man-made catastrophe rarely equalled in the 20th century. But in the remote, war-torn, underdeveloped countries, that catalogue of Third World miseries means conflict, conflict. Although there is an unmistakable urge to help, Canadians and other relatively affluent Westerners face countries, both in emergency capacity. But you can't "develop" children who are dead.

So far, world governments, non-governmental relief agencies and other international organizations have donated a total of \$228 million for Kurdish relief, \$18.6 million of which came from the Canadian government. The Bangladesh government appealed last week for \$1.6 billion. Officials said that they have so far received pledges of about \$324 million, \$115 million of which came from

developed governments. But the latest disaster strikes concerns, but also assistance because the cyclone's effects were clearly compounded by the failure of the Bangladesh government to organize effective evacuations (page 42). And many relief agencies are openly pessimistic about the likely Western response to the famine disaster now brewing in the Sudan and Ethiopia. Western nations give generously to relief disasters in those two countries just years ago, only to see a reversal. As a result, says Harry Black, executive director of the United Nations relief agency (UNRCA/Canada), "Africa is the ignored disaster. People felt that it should have gone away after 1985."

Threat: In fact, aid officials say that if more effort had been put into long-range development, the threat of African famines might not have gone away—or at least receded. Indeed Bruce Moore, executive director of the Canadian Hunger Foundation, says: "Can we keep responding to all these emergencies? When will we address the larger agenda?" Or, as UNRCA's Black put it, "We're a development agency first, with an emergency capacity. But you can't 'develop' children who are dead."

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Sudan: Arabica: Canada's official donation was \$1 million.

Moscow, in eastern Africa, attempts to cope with famine are complicated by civil war. The Ethiopian Marxist regime is battling Eritrean separatists and pro-democracy rebels, while the Sudan's Muslim fundamentalist re-



Kurdish refugees: famine-stricken Sudanese (opposite) 'compassion fatigue'.

gime is fighting a savage war against predominantly Christian rebels. And in both countries, international relief workers have accused the regimes of obstructing their attempts to send aid to beleaguered areas. In the Sudan alone, reports the U.S. Agency for International Development, one million tons of food are needed immediately to avert the starvation of one million people. According to AID, another six million people are in danger of starvation in Ethiopia. The UN has appealed for \$949 million to help the Sudan. But raising that amount may prove difficult. Said Nilsa Mikolajovic, spokeswoman for the Canadian branch of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "The [African] scene is as bleak as the global scene because it's now one to 80s problems. But now, with so many disasters as such a compressed time, it's just another crisis." Agreed René de Guise, execu-

tive director of the Canadian Red Cross Society: "It's not a priority with Canadians right now."

In Europe, too, relief workers say that the Sudan and Ethiopia contribute the view most prone to the effects of compassion fatigue. "On a scale of magnitude," said Luc Trudilard, spokesman for the French branch of the international Catholic charity Caritas, "the east African famine beats all the others combined, but we are receiving need to looking for its victims." He added that for every 100 tonnes donated in France for relief last week, 85 went to Bangladesh, 18 went to the Kurds and only one went to Africa.

The perception that some Third World governments are not doing their best to help may also discourage potential Western donors. Last

officials accused them of apathy. And a 30-member medical team from the French organization Doctors of the World left another Kurdish refugee camp for similar reasons. Last month, the U.S. government sent an air force jet to Tehran with several million dollars and blankets for the refugees. But the Iranians refused to accept the offer, claiming that it was infected with the AIDS virus. Said a British humanitarian official anonymously last week, "I wouldn't hold my breath for another flight."

Such outright obstructionism as Iran's is rare. But Third World failure to prepare for predictable disasters is clearly not. François Arsenault, director of international humanitarian assistance for the Canadian International Development Agency, warned last week that

Canadian generosity "cannot be perceived as a humanitarian gift." He stressed the need for Third World countries to make better use of development programs. In particular, he said, "disaster-prone countries must learn and more look to disaster-preparedness programs." That was apparently a reference to Bangladesh, where although cyclones are common, successive governments have failed to introduce a proper warning system.

Disasters: Obviously, cyclones cannot be prevented, adequate rainfall cannot be assured and oppressive governments cannot constantly be removed by outside intervention. But poor environmental policies, which contribute to such Third World disasters as flooding and crop failure due to drought, can be corrected. For one, overpopulation may be the cause of the deterioration of the lower slopes of the Himalayas has led greatly to the flow of water over low-lying Bangladesh. As well, population increases, deforestation and overgrazing have accelerated the pace at which overgrazing land is eroding in desert in Africa.

Still, statistics indicate that even the long term, the Third World's problems are not insoluble. "Let's put things in perspective," said director's Black. "Aspirin from Africa, most countries are now producing instead of importing disaster." And is another indication of progress, all headquarters in Washington reported last Friday that relief activities in Asia in Third World countries had been cut by ten per cent in the past five years.

Clearly, persistence pays. And although countries in Western aid cannot wait Third World disasters, it might make them significantly less severe if combined with a determined effort to prevent further environmental degradation. And that success may in turn help the wealthier industrialized countries to overcome the demands of overpopulation and compassion fatigue—and to go on giving.

JOHN BIERMAN and **DAVE BRADY** in Toronto, K. RAYE PUGH in Ottawa and **PETER LEHR** in Paris

THE LONG ROAD HOME

COLD AND HUNGRY, THE KURDS RETURN

Tens of thousands of Kurdish refugees streamed down last week from the rugged, rocky ridges in the mountains that mark the border between Iraq and Turkey. Some went only as far as the new camps that allied troops were building on the scorched highlands some weeks from the towns they fled. Others went on to the new camps and were straight back to their homes. Michael's European Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips accompanied one such family on their journey home. His report

From the field just outside Ahmet Mohammed's house on the edge of the Kurdish town of Zakho in northeastern Iraq, the mountains appear almost close enough to touch. They begin 35 km away, soaring up 5,000 feet out of green fields of spring wheat, but the crystal-clear air of early evening brings them drastically closer. It was to the mountains that Ahmet Mohammed, his family and his neighbors fled on the last day of March when the Iraqi army began

Kurdish refugees in safe haven-bound convoys down twisting mountain roads

shooting Kurds rebels over Zakho, leaving with their bombs the spectre of a wholesale slaughter of the local population. And it was from the mountains that he finally returned home last week, after a month of hunger, cold, exhaustion and fear.

But it was not a joyous homecoming. Moments after Mohammed, his wife, Gula, and two of their six children clambered out of the car that had brought them to their concrete house, they discovered that their ordeal was still not over. The front door had been smashed open. Inside, the house had been stripped almost completely, leaving most of its rooms just bare chambers. "The Kurds have been here and taken everything," said Mohammed, a carpenter who says that he is 48, but whose deeply lined and weather-beaten face makes him look closer to 65. "We have nothing left." But with a stoicism born of bitter experience there were no tears. The family, accompanied by a Canadian nurse, appeared only embarrassed that they could not extend the traditions of hospitality that even the poorest Kurd considers a matter of honor. "We are so sorry," he said. "There is not even any tea to offer you."

Mohammed and his family were part of the

first major movement of refugees back to their homes in northern Iraq. As many as 20,000 a day rode a motley collection of convoys, trucks, borrowed taxis and pulling tractors down the twisting mountain roads. And American commandos launched a new campaign called Operation Grizzly Provider to persuade the tens of thousands of remaining Kurds to follow suit. They faced a new deadline imposed by the harsh geography of the region. By June 1, water supplies will have dried up in the mountains, where a few weeks ago there was snow and driving rain.

The allied forces also grappled with the delicate political task of convincing the Kurds that it is finally safe to go home. Many, with fresh memories of previous Iraqi campaigns against the country's Kurdish minority, insist that they will not return to Iraq as long as the threat from President Saddam Hussein's forces persists. As a result, the allies were preparing to further extend their security zone in northern Iraq, which stretches about 200 km from Zakho southeast towards the Iranian border. U.S. troops pressed closer to the Iraqi Kurdish city of Duluk, most of whose 300,000 residents fled to the mountains a month ago. By forcing the Iraqi army to leave Duluk, the allies would create a triangle-shaped zone into which they say, the Kurds could safely return.

"Many of them won't go home until they are sure it is secure," said Capt. Dennis McKinney, who was commanding a British Royal Marine unit overseeing a supply station for refugees coming down from the mountains. "They are understandably very cautious."

The arrival of Mohammed's family, like hundreds of others in Zakho, began on March 30. All that day, Iraqi army helicopters attacked Kurdish Pesh Merga ("those who face death") guerrillas in the hills near the town. As the bombing continued, rumors flew around Zakho, whose 50,000 residents are mostly Kurds, that the Iraqis might use chemical weapons as they did when they killed 5,000 civilians in the Kurdish city of Halabja in 1988. "People were saying that Saddam would use gas," said Mohammed. "Everyone was terrified."

But at 7:30 that evening, the panic reached its peak. Although it was dark and snowing, nearly all of the families in Mohammed's town decided to join the streams of people already fleeing to what they hoped would be the safety of the nearby mountains. Many chased the narrow roads with cars and trucks. Others, including Mohammed's family, made do on children age 2 to 23, walking the entire way. It took them four days to make it up the mountain road and along a narrow

Mohammed family members: it was not a joyous homecoming

trail, at the end of a road, through a pass to the Turkish side of the border.

"Everyone was cold and the children were all sick," Mohammed said. When they finally reached the border, met by a concrete pillar and scattered guard posts running through a deep valley in the hills, the Kurds believed that the worst was finally over. Instead, said Mohammed, it was just beginning. "The Turkish soldiers shot at us when we tried to pass," he said. "They killed some of our people. We couldn't understand why." Still, about 150,000 Kurds made it to the valley at intervals only to find that they faced starvation as well as death from exposure.

For four days, they survived on what little food they had carried with them and small quantities sold or donated by local villagers. Dozens of people, mostly children, died every day in both the Turkish and Iraqi governments' debacles. What he did finally, on April 7, American aircraft began dropping emergency rations, tents and blankets. Conditions in the camp improved slowly as aid poured in from rebel organizations, but few Kurds were willing to go home. On April 24, the Iraqi army withdrew its troops from Zakho, under allied pressure, and American and British soldiers began patrolling the streets. Leaders of Mohammed's clan, the Sulaimani, finally, which includes people from about 100 villages, went to inspect the area. They brought back word that the Iraqis were indeed gone—and that it was safe to return.

With those assurances, Mohammed led four of his children with relatives in the Lebanese army and with Baghdad's 11-year-old son Mohammed, to retrace their steps through the hills. Carrying their belongings and a few clothes, they walked for three hours on May 5 along the narrow path that crosses the border. At about midday, they came to the end of the road on the Iraqi side of the frontier. There, dozens of vehicles of almost every description by which their drivers had abandoned them in the rush to escape. Cars, tractors, even garbage trucks and road graders had been used to ferry people up the mountains. Many had broken down, or had been stripped of tires, doors and windows while their owners were in the camps. Mechanics with the U.S. special forces wanted to get the better army of vehicles operating again so that the Kurds could drive them home. "They came up on anything that would move," said Sgt. Jeffrey McElroy, a special forces soldier at the site.

Mohammed's family did not have a vehicle waiting. Instead, they piled into the back of a bright yellow truck along with about 40 other

'IF SADDAM'S SOLDIERS COME BACK, WE WILL GO BACK TO THE MOUNTAINS'

people, who were crisscrossed with blacklets, cooking pots, sacks of rice and whatever else the refugees had been able to carry out of the camp. The truck became so crowded that one elderly man, Abdelhakeem Fatah, appeared to be on the verge of fainting. Finally paralyzed on his right side, Fatah had taken two days to hightail over the mountain pass from Kirkuk. Neighbors lifted him and his wife out of the truck and placed them in the relative comfort of

new campers, not kilometers outside Zakhwa, where the truck pulled in. The driver asked hopefully whether the Americans would pay him for bringing his cargo of Kurds down from the hills. Told that they would not, he looked distinctly crestfallen. The other refugees asked whether they had to stay at the camp, a fast-spreading sentiment of angst. Black-and-white tents set up in the middle of a wheat field flattered silent officials, anxious to see as many

women here. "They even took the pictures I had to remember my father by," said Mohammed. "Who would miss that?"

Outside, many of Mohammed's neighbors had found their homes in a nearby state and gathered in the windy area that served as a street to commiserate with one another. Mohammed blamed what he called "the Kurds"—Iraqi soldiers or local Arabic-speaking people who stayed behind when the Kurds fled. "They must have brought a truck as here to load everything," he said. But Mohammed argued that neither he nor other Kurds would seek revenge. "We don't want to fight the Arabs, no matter what," he said. "Let's just live peace." Gazi Mohammed, who had been silent, even managed to find something to be thankful for.



Mohammed family swathers heading back to northern Iraq; with a stoicism born of better experience, there were no tears

the back seat of a car for the long trip home. Mohammed, though, was fit enough to make the trip with the others. As he hauled his son and daughter onto the truck, he explained that he was anxious to get back. "Somebody might steal things while we're away," he said, aware of what had happened to his home. Then, they piled down the mountainous through clouds of reddish dust, along a patched track clinging to the sides of steep cliffs, past dozens more broken and abandoned vehicles. They cheered American helicopters buzzing overhead, and applauded any allied soldiers that they saw. The girls giggled and covered their eyes when the truck overtook a pair of French army post women armored in rusty chain.

Kurds as possible go directly back to their homes to lessen the pressure on aid workers, told them that they were free to continue on. When an hour, Ahmed Mohammed and his family were back at their home.

Violated. In the meantime, Mohammed had described it as a "fine, large house." The reality was more modest: a one-story dwelling surrounded by a narrow high wall on the edge of a scrubby field where goats roamed for food upon the last-remaining grass. But Mohammed had built it himself, and it represented the fruit of a life's work—to find it, withstand and almost, enigma was a hard blow. Kurds, tribes, and so on and so forth. The family's television set and video cassette machine had been stolen, as had the stove from the kitchen. Most of the clothes chests were empty, and even the walls

"Finally, I can wash my children's clothes," he said. "They have been as filthy as the mountains, like little animals."

Many Kurds in other areas found their homes in a similar condition when they returned from the mountains last week. In Al-Anfalayah, an ancient Kurdish town spectacularly atop a mountain peak 70 km east of Zakhwa, local people were eager to display the damage that had occurred while they were away. Abdulrahman Nourani, a government official, worked in his red-alfalfa, pointed to the broken bowls on the doors of his house and the empty rooms inside. In the kitchen, the cupboards and four were smothered with rotting food. "Iraqi soldiers came in, looking for something to eat," he said. "This is how they left it."

Still, Nourani said, no one in the town was surprised by the damage. "We've seen away three years ago, when Saddam gassed the people in Halabja," he said. "It was the same news when we came back then."

But Mohammed and Nourani were at least able to go home under the protection of allied troops. The horde of tens of thousands more refugees are located in areas still held by the Iraqi army, and few are willing to risk returning. American consulars acknowledged that those Kurds who had fled from Dohuk, Mosul and other cities under Iraqi control were afraid to go home, actually complicating the allies' task of persuading them to come out of the mountains before winter supplies dry up and disease spreads in one camp after another. In a camp, just inside the Turkish border, medical workers described about 150 cases of cholera, and attributed its deaths to the disease.

As a result, U.S. commanders launched Operation Gullat, Premier, designed to clear the hills of refugees by bringing down 7,000 a day in a fleet of 300 trucks. As part of that operation, they began setting up way stations along the mountain routes to provide refugees with bread, water and fuel to help them on their way. But that plan quickly produced its own complications.

As Kani Marzi, a station set up last week in the rugged hills north of Al-Anfalayah, allied officers found that many Kurds preferred to settle down, rather than move on. Most were from Dohuk, and were waiting for the Americans to take control of the city before returning.



Kurd in Zakhwa's Canadian hospital; deadline

A team of Canadian medics from the Canadian Forces' 4 Field Ambulance, based in Lehn, Germany, set up a clinic at Kani Marzi. David Wilson, 30, of Halifax, the team's medical officer, acknowledged the problem. "We just want to move them on, but it's going to become a real test city here," he said, as the 11 Canadians set up their clinic. "It's unsolvable."

Just two kilometers away was a stark reminder of what the Kurds face. Kani Marzi, once a village that housed about 1,500 people, with a

school and hospital, ceased to exist in 1978. As part of its campaign to end local support for Kurdistan, Iraq's Baath government razed the town, blew up all of the buildings. The remains, masses of twisted steel and broken concrete slabs with weeds growing up among them, were witness to the fate of Kani Marzi and the misery of other villages destroyed at the same time.

Anti-Dora: A slogan from the dead town, blackened tree stumps are further evidence of the Iraqi government's determination to stamp out Kurdish resistance. Soldiers, the Kurds say, poured salt on the ruins of apple and pear groves to kill the orchards and make it impossible for the local people to live in the area again. Ironically, Saddam Hussein built his own summer palace stop within the same area, symbolically proclaiming his personal rule over the rebellious Kurds. The palace, notably surrounded by a barbed wire, Berlin-Wall-style concrete barriers, was guarded last week by a handful of loyal Republican Guards who were awarded medals for the allied security zone.

With the experience of Kani Marzi and the other destroyed towns, the Kurds had no illusions about Saddam Hussein's anger even before their latest flight. When they went, they set out as Americans and they allied forces to remain in northern Iraq indefinitely to ensure their safety. In fact, with the Baghdad government rejecting a U.S.-backed proposal for a police force last week, there was a possibility that American forces might face an extended stay. But said that the Americans, too, want to go home, the Kurds reply that they are ready for their eventual return as well. "If Saddam's soldiers come back, we will go back to the mountains," Ahmed Mohammed said, only minutes after returning to his home here. "It is our life." □

A HISTORY OF REPRESSION

For centuries, the English Kurds have been a victim of repression. That pattern was to occur again in 1945.

In 1945, British Kurds succeeded in establishing the Republic of Mahabad with Soviet support, and Soviet forces quickly withdrew, and Iran's Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, created the fledgling state.

In 1946, Kurdish guerrillas waged an unsuccessful struggle against Baghdad after the invasion of Iran. In 1970, the guerrillas concluded an agreement with Iraqi leaders allowing for linguistic rights and self-rule in Kurdish areas, as well as Kurdish participation in the central government. But disputes over the distribution of oil revenues, and the exclusion of the oil-rich Kurdish region from Kurdish control, led to the breakdown of the agreement. Supported by Iran and the CIA, the Kurds renewed their rebellion against Baghdad in 1974. The following year, however, their uprising collapsed when the Shah of Iran betrayed them, he made a pact with Baghdad to stop funding the guerrillas in exchange for shared sovereignty of the Shatt al-Arab watershed, which provides access to the Persian Gulf.

In 1984, during the Iran-Iraq war, Baghdad the founder of modern Turkey, ignored the agreement. That pattern was to occur again in 1945. In 1945, British Kurds succeeded in establishing the Republic of Mahabad with Soviet support, and Soviet forces quickly withdrew, and Iran's Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, created the fledgling state.

repeatedly resolved a peace settlement with Jalal Talabani, leader of one of the main Kurdish parties. But that agreement also broke down over questions of oil and gas rights for Kurds and the control of Kurdish military forces. Saddam Hussein then overhauled on a scorched-earth campaign against the rebels. At a horrific 1988 battle, 2,000 Kurdish men, women and children were killed. The Kurds then fled to the towns of Halabja. More recently, many Kurds have accused President George Bush, who publicly called for an opening against Hussein, of betrayal for failing to militarily support their rebellion.

Last week in Baghdad, Kurdish and government officials renewed talks over greater autonomy for Kurds in northern Iraq. Diplomats say that Hussein, weakened militarily and financially by the war with U.S.-led allies, may be ready to strike a deal. History, however, clearly cautions against premature celebration.

ANDREW F. HILSKY with correspondents reports



COVER

WAVES OF DESTRUCTION

BANGLADESH COPES WITH DISASTER

Helicopters and planes plied the skies with free provisions cargoes of food, bottled water and medicine for disaster refugees. Below, volunteers busily buried decaying human bodies and animal carcasses in a life-and-death race against the outbreak of epidemics. One week after a devastating cyclone lashed southern Bangladesh, killing at least 125,000 people and leaving 10 million homeless, an international relief effort sprang to life to making headway. But some opposition leaders and victim critics charged the eight-week-old government of Prime Minister Begam Khaleda Zia for incompetence. And, still reeling from the worst natural disaster in two decades, Bangladesh suffered further setbacks last week when tornadoes, flash floods and gales brought new death and destruction to their calamity-prone country. Said World Bank, a government official in the capital, Dhaka: "It is a tragic story of one wave crashing upon another."

Information Secretary Mawla-e-Mawla cited some of the grim statistics last week. He said that in addition to the human toll, the April 30 cyclone killed 900,000 head of livestock and

Survivors on flooded farmland: a tragic story

hardest-hit area were susceptible to diseases. Of these, said Mohammad Musa, a CARE official in Dhaka, eight million were also at risk from cholera. Spread by contact with human waste, cholera can be curable with rehydration salts. But left untreated, it can kill within 10 hours. To help check the spread of disease, the Bangladesh health ministry sent 3,000 doctors to coastal areas. And Red Cross officials said that 30,000 volunteers were helping to bury the dead.

Survivors: As those efforts got underway in the south of the country, fresh together, struck north of Dhaka. A tornado with winds reaching 100 mph swept

through 29 villages in the industrial district of Gopur on May 1, killing 50 people, injuring more than 400 others and destroying at least 2,500 houses. Flash floods caused by heavy rains struck across the northeastern region of Sylhet, mowing 100,000 people and inundating about 104 square miles of farmland. The next day, another tornado hit just 1 1/2 km southeast of the earlier twister's path, killing eight people and injuring about 160. Then, on Thursday night, gale winds struck seven towns in northern and eastern Bangladesh, killing at least 80 people and injuring 200 others.

Returning to Dhaka last week from a four-day tour of the southern Chittagong and Cox's Bazar areas, where more than 75,000 people died in the cyclone, opposition leaders urged Prime Minister Zia to form a national task force to coordinate disaster relief. Shikha Hossain Wazed, leader of the main opposition, the Awami League, said that she personally had to flee for India because of official caution. "This government would have quit by now if it had self-interest," she said. But Zia was fatalistic. Natural calamity, she said, "has been a part of our life, as it comes every year in one form or another." And she claimed that her government was working to the best of its ability to cope with the country's problems.

Those problems will likely increase in the next few weeks when the annual monsoon rains begin. Unless workers can quickly repair the cyclone-damaged dikes along the southwest coast, higher-than-normal spring tides will flood more farmland with water. That would prolong the country's dependence on international aid. And, according to some relief workers, it could provide social unrest as more destitute people flock to the cities in search of food and shelter—increasingly pressing conditions in the battered nation.

ANDREW DELANEY with **SHARIF ALAM REZA** in Dhaka

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PRIMING FOR A RECOVERY

Region car dealer Lorne Hoffer says that he is puzzled why declining loan rates have yet to trigger a rush of buyers into his Volkswagen showroom. In recent weeks, Canada's chartered banks have reduced their new-car loan rates to as low as 12 per cent as part of a general cut in interest rates. The best rates are now about five percentage points lower than their peak last summer. But the business manager says that sales at Regina, Saskatchewan (S460) Ltd. last month were only about five per cent higher than the depressed levels of a year ago—roughly the same as the average increase experienced by all Canadian auto dealers over the same period. He also says that he doubts whether further interest-rate declines alone will ignite car sales and help to raise Canada's economy out of the current recession. "They would have to decline a lot more to make a difference," he says. "People are still holding on to their money."

Still, there were some signs last week that the lower rates were having a positive economic impact. For the first time since June, 1990, Statistics Canada reported that the monthly unemployment rate showed an improvement, decreasing to 10.2 per cent in April from 10.5

DESPITE A LARGE DROP IN INTEREST RATES, THERE ARE ONLY A FEW SIGNS OF AN ECONOMIC TURNAROUND

per cent in the previous month. In addition, the number of housing starts in April was 33 per cent higher than in March. However, when economists welcomed the trend to those two important indicators, they warned that it is insufficient to indicate a recovery. There are still about 460,000 more people out of work than there a year ago, and housing starts remain well below the levels of a healthy economy. In an apparent effort to stimulate business and consumer spending, the Bank of Canada last week lowered its benchmark interest rate to 9.25 per cent, from 9.35 per cent the previous

week. At week's end, however, some of Canada's top large banks responded to the central bank's action by lowering their lending rates.

Many economists say that the fact that 1.4 million Canadians are unemployed shows that the country remains mired in a recession, and that the continuing weakness in the economy will leave banks loathe to lower interest rates even further. The Bank of Montreal's chief economist, Lloyd Adamson, for one, says that "there is no compelling evidence at this point that the recession is over."

He adds that interest rates for most types of loans will decline by at least another percentage point from their current levels. He adds that the 9.75-per-cent rate that his bank now offers prime customers, the lowest rate by one-half of a point among the six major banks, could fall by another half a percentage point this year.

Adamson says that the current downturn in Canada's manufacturing sector is the most severe since the 1981-1982 recession, and that when a recovery begins later this year, it likely will be slow. As a result, he says, rates will stay relatively low for some time. Toronto-Dominion Bank chief economist Douglas Peters agrees that further declines are likely. Declaring Peters "I would hope that we can have more than a percentage-point reduction in the prime rate."

But other economists take a more wary view of the economy. They say that last week's improvement in unemployment and housing starts, combined with recent openings in car sales and sales of existing houses, is a sign that a general turnaround is imminent. Led by a strong surge in the new-home market, Toronto real estate market, countrywide sales of existing houses jumped to 23,880 units in March up 9.3 per cent from the same month a year ago. Richard Neufeld, chief economist at the Royal Bank of Canada, says that "as far as economic signs go, I think we're getting close to the bottom." And he predicts that a general economic recovery beginning this summer will put upward pressure on interest rates.

Needled and many other economists agree that further reductions in rates are unlikely because Bank of Canada governor John Croxall remains determined to limit inflation, one coming at an annual rate of 3.9 per cent, below the 1985 target of two per cent set out in the February federal budget. Still, last week's



William: It's still a long road back

bankruptcy reduction suggested that Crow is willing to moderate his risk-reduction crusade at least temporarily—at least to prevent the recession from deepening even further. But if the Canadian dollar begins to fall on international currency markets, Crow will likely raise any further decline in the bank rate. That is because a lower dollar, while good for exporters, would drive up the inflation rate by making imported goods more expensive. It would also make it more difficult to attract foreign investment.

Peters, however, says that Crow has room to lower interest rates further. Despite the steady decline in Canadian rates since last fall, he says that the 9.5-percentage-point spread between Canadian and U.S. rates is unusually high by historical standards. Peters adds that he is concerned that Crow's tight money policy could prevent an economic resurgence, trapping Canada back into recession in 1990.

Many hard-pressed Canadian homeowners, including home builders and construction suppliers who are only now beginning to feel the

benefits of lower rates after a punishing 18-month slump, also say that rate increases could choke off a recovery. Doug Williams, president of Toronto-based McKnight Window Industries Ltd., says that he lost off two-thirds of the 1989 and 1990 window orders at his plant last year as orders from builders dried up. Now, he says that he is planning to increase his payroll to fill a recent flurry of new orders.

"The lower interest rates are a trap in the real business," he adds. "It's still a long road back."

The federal treasury also stands to benefit if interest rates continue to decline. Current market rates are roughly in line with those forecast in the Mulroney government's February budget. But according to finance department estimates, Ottawa's projected \$30 billion deficit for the current fiscal year would shrink by \$1.6 billion if rates average a percentage point lower than the 9.6-per-cent level predicted for 1991. Still, the Bank of Montreal's Adamson cautions that rates continue to decline because of the economy's weakness, much of those savings would disappear. He says that the money

Ottawa saves in interest payments would be offset by lower tax revenues and higher social welfare costs.

Adamson and his counterparts at the other banks refuse to advise investors or whether they should take advantage of the current low interest rates and buy a house or a car now, or wait for further declines. Peters, for one, says that consumers should be wary of trying to predict the absolute bottom of the market. "Bulls and bears sometimes profit," he says. "But pigs always end up in the mud."

Even if interest rates continue to decline, however, most economists say that the prospect of a sharp increase in personal borrowing similar to the one that helped hit Canada out of the 1980-1982 recession is highly unlikely. "They predict that consumers in unemployment will continue to dampen consumer confidence and reduce disposable income this year. As well, the record-high level of consumer debt—now \$23.6 billion for every man, woman and child in the country—will almost certainly inhibit new borrowing. That means that most debt-laden and who also have a high level of unemployment will continue to dampen consumer confidence and reduce disposable income this year. As well, the record-high level of consumer debt—now \$23.6 billion for every man, woman and child in the country—will almost certainly inhibit new borrowing. That means that most debt-laden

JOHN DALY

Business Notes

BETA RETURNS

Toronto-based beta magnet: Thomas Beta, 78, whose legendary family shoe firm was owned by Cathlamet's late son, returned to the family business in 1985, his goal to establish a new subsidiary in his hometown. But Beta and that negotiations with the Cathlamet government on the controversial issue of compensation are continuing.

CHRYSLER CANADA EXPANDING

Chrysler Canada Ltd. announced that it plans to hire about 350 additional employees next year to begin production of its new 101 kg of family sedans at its plant in Brampton, Ont., near Toronto. They will join the current workforce of 1,000 that will be supplemented by a further 1,000 workers who will move to Brampton after the company starts its Jeep factory in nearby Kitchener.

LAMARCA'S DOWN

Bernard Lamarca, chairman of giant Montreal-based Lavalin Industries Inc., plans to sell off more than half of the family-controlled composite empire and concentrate on its core business—large engineering projects. Lavalin will sell off its refining subsidiaries, Krastar, Petrochemical Corp. Inc. of Montreal. As well, Lavalin will sell a 50-per-cent interest in Krastar, Ont.-based UTC Inc., which has built repair-transport systems in Detroit and Vancouver, leaving Lavalin with only a 25-per-cent stake in the company.

ALL ABOARD

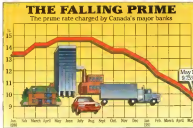
Canada's largest airline is considering entering the passenger rail business. Air Canada announced that it will split the cost of a \$500-million rail market opportunity for a high-speed train on the Quebec City-Windsor corridor with CP Rail.

A BILLION-DOLLAR PIPE

After six months of hearings, the National Energy Board approved a \$2.6-billion natural-gas pipeline project. The project will mostly be served markets in the northwest United States. Part of the \$2.6 billion in expansion, by TransCanada PipeLines Ltd. of Calgary, will link Alberta gas fields with the Canada-U.S. border near Cornwall, Ont., where another pipeline will take the gas to U.S. markets.

AT&T BUYS INC

It is now aimed at making it an international player in the computer business, U.S. telecommunications giant American Telephone & Telegraph Co. has paid \$1 billion for control of Telcel Corp., the fifth-largest U.S. computer manufacturer.





BUSINESS

A test of tastes

Canadian wineries are fighting domestic bias

For five years, Michael Rowland has waged a lonely battle. As the owner of a downtown Toronto restaurant called *Mezzogiorno*, Rowland is committed to using only Canadian ingredients—drinks such as wines from British Columbia, wild rice from Saskatchewan and Canada goose from Manitoba. A German-born immigrant who came to Canada in 1955, Rowland says that he decided on an all-Canadian menu because he wanted to demonstrate his support for the domestic food industry. Customers, too, seem to like the policy. "And Rowland says that many of these still turn up their noses at the thought of drinking Canadian wine. "Canadians love the glories of imported products, especially when it comes to wine," says Rowland, whose current wine list features 19 Ontario wineries and two from British Columbia's Okanagan Valley. But he adds: "When I convince them not to turn to Canada, they are always surprised at how good it is."

Relatively few Canadians appear to share Rowland's enthusiasm for domestic wines. In Ontario, the heartland of Canada's wine industry, domestic producers now account for only about 40 per cent of wine sales. That is down from a nearly two-thirds share in the early

1970s. Canadian wineries have an even smaller share of the market for non-refined varietal wines—higher-quality wines made largely or exclusively from a single variety of grapes, such as chardonnay or Riesling, which usually sell for \$10 or more a bottle. But in spite of the problems they face, most Canadian wine producers say that they are cautiously optimistic about the industry's future. Declared Donald Nagas, president of Inniskillin Wines Inc. of Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont., a renowned viticulture winery: "There is an question that the threat of international competition has forced the industry to reexamine and become much more aggressive."

Largely as a result of these changes, Canadian wineries are beginning to win recognition in foreign markets. Ontario wines received seven gold medals at the 1990 Latavica Awards, an internationally renowned competition held annually in New York City. And at the equally prestigious 1990 International Wine and Spirit Competition in London, where from several small Ontario wineries collected worldwide against products from France, Italy, California and other major wine-growing areas, capturing three gold medals and a trophy for the best dry Redwing. Canada is also gaining a worldwide

Landry: 'so many Canadians don't know their own products'

reputation as a leading producer of wine, a sweet desert was that it produced in small quantities from grapes harvested after the first frost of the season. Said Tom Caplan, chairman of the B.C. Wine Institute: "The old attitude was that if you are going to someone's for dinner, you weren't going to bring out a bottle of Canadian wine. We're very proud that is changing."

Despite these successes, only about one per cent of the wine produced in Canada each year is exported—a level that industry spokesmen acknowledge is unlikely to increase in the near future. Traditionally, Canadian wineries have depended for their survival on favorable tax policies, which forced Canadian consumers to pay a higher markup on imported wines than on local varieties. Ontario, which produces 40 per cent of the grapes used to make Canadian wine, for many years marketed its own wines by one per cent, while imported wines were marked up 66 per cent.

But in the past three years, the industry has lost many of its tax advantages. As a result of complaints in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the international agreement that rules on trade-related matters, and the introduction of the 1989 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, Canada has agreed to lower the preferential pricing of domestic wine.

In the run-up to the FTA, many Canadian nationalists predicted that free trade would devastate the domestic wine industry. They charged that Canadian wineries would be washed aside by a tide of cheap California wine. So far, there is little evidence to report

those don't know their own products." One of the first steps in that process was the launch in 1987 of the Vintners Quality Alliance (VQA) program in Ontario and British Columbia. An organization of wine producers and export companies dedicated to improving the quality of domestic wines, the VQA sponsors wine-tasting competitions and awards qualifying wines the right to display the VQA symbol on their labels. The pressure for increased income is clear—and, according to higher-quality—national grape supplies comes almost entirely from larger wineries like T. G. Braght & Co. Ltd. of Niagara Falls, Ont., and Carter Winery & Beverage Corp. of Mississauga, Ont. These companies face direct competition from large wineries such as Gallo Winery of Modesto, Calif. Says David Holey, vice-president of marketing for Appleton Wines Ltd. of Waukegan, Ont., another major producer: "Most of our customers are those who buy volume table wines. They haven't been exposed to the vinicultural concept."

Unlike the larger wine companies, Canada's small wineries tend to focus on producing higher-quality wines for a more specialized market, using locally grown grapes. "We don't want to lose the personal touch," says David Holey, whose winery for Stone Mountain Vineyards, which opened last year in Niagara-on-the-Lake. According to Holey, the firm produced 4,500 15-bottle cases of wine in 1990 and plans to increase its production to a maximum of 20,000 cases by 1995. "We want to be a small, high-quality wine producer," he says. "For that, we can compete with anyone in the world. In fact, we welcome the challenge."



Landry: focusing on quality, not quantity

that perception exists because the domestic market has traditionally focused on producing inexpensive, low-alcohol wines targeted for the mass market. But during the past two decades, many consumers developed a preference for drier wines, which domestic wineries until recently failed to supply. Says John Hall, chairman of the Ontario Wine Council, an organization that represents 15 wineries in the province: "Consumer tastes changed more quickly than the industry did, but now that lag has been made up."

Unfortunately, industry officials say, most Canadian still have an outdated view of domestic wines. Says Donna Landry, a grape grower at Ontario's wine-rich Niagara Peninsula: "The only way we will survive is to convince people that we have a quality product. So many Cana-

dians don't know their own products." One of the first steps in that process was the launch in 1987 of the Vintners Quality Alliance (VQA) program in Ontario and British Columbia. An organization of wine producers and export companies dedicated to improving the quality of domestic wines, the VQA sponsors wine-tasting competitions and awards qualifying wines the right to display the VQA symbol on their labels. The pressure for increased income is clear—and, according to higher-quality—national grape supplies comes almost entirely from larger wineries like T. G. Braght & Co. Ltd. of Niagara Falls, Ont., and Carter Winery & Beverage Corp. of Mississauga, Ont. These companies face direct competition from large wineries such as Gallo Winery of Modesto, Calif. Says David Holey, vice-president of marketing for Appleton Wines Ltd. of Waukegan, Ont., another major producer: "Most of our customers are those who buy volume table wines. They haven't been exposed to the vinicultural concept."

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Another small winery that is gaining ground is Grand Pin Estate Winery, which 180 is northwest of Halton in the Niagara Valley. Founded 12 years ago, the firm went into winemaking in 1989 after its original owners attempted to export too rapidly. Later that year, Grand Pin was taken over by James Landry, a former automobile dealer. Using a loan on the firm's \$500,000 profit in 1990, Grand Pin's products now include several classic wine varietals, such as chardonnay and gewürztraminer, as well as a burgundy-style red made from a variety of grape that originated in the Soviet Union. Says Landry: "We want to remain a small, boutique winery which does sacrifice quality to increase production. The biggest problem has been in obtaining Nova Scotia's own wine." But like Toronto restaurant owner Rowland, Landry says that he is determined to help Canadian consumers develop an appreciation for domestic wineries.

DEBORAH MANKOWY with JUAN ZAMANT in Mexico and MAJ. GUNN in Vancouver

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The power at the top

Peter Brontman answers his critics

Although he is one of Canada's richest men, Peter Brontman has never sought the limelight. Subtle-spoken and unassuming, the 61-year-old multimillionaire prefers to remain in the background while professional managers run the day-to-day operations of the disparate companies he founded with his brother, Edward. Characteristically, Brontman made only a few perfunctory remarks at last week's annual meeting of Brantec Ltd., the huge Toronto-based holding company that is one of the pillars of the Brontman brother's Edger group. But after the meeting, Brontman made it clear that he is concerned about the group's recent poor performance. At one point, a shareholder walked up to him and asked whether Brantec, despite its financial problems, planned to continue paying dividends to its investors. Brontman, who is by far the company's biggest recipient of dividends, smiled, held up two crossed fingers and said, "I sure hope so."

In a rare interview after last week's meeting, Brontman told *Maclean's* that he takes little pleasure in the fact that prices for shares in

many of the publicly traded companies in the Edger group have edged up monthly. Those increases have occurred at a time when stock prices in general have been rising. But, in spite of the rally, shares in many of the core companies of the Edger empire are still trading at prices that are barely half their levels of early last year. Saul Brontman, whose corporate stable includes Minco Inc., MacMillan Bloedel Ltd., Royal Trustco Ltd. and John Labatt Ltd.: "If the stock market goes up and share prices go up but I don't see any change in the underlying businesses of the companies, it does not make me feel terribly comfortable."

Indeed, Brantec's powerful senior managers told shareholders last week that they expect 1991 will be only slightly better for the companies under its control than last year. Brantec,

one of the three main holding companies in the Edger Empire, reported profits of \$80 million in revenues of \$5.2 billion in 1990. That compares with profits last year of \$203 million in revenues of \$4.6 billion.

But falling profits were not the only disappointment for the Toronto-based Brontmans family last year. The family's corporate empire includes major stakes in four key sectors of the Canadian economy—natural resources, real estate, financial services, and consumer and industrial products. By diversifying, Edger managers hoped to be able to balance the highly cyclical nature of resource industries and real estate with the more stable earnings power of financial, services and consumer products. But that theory has been sorely tested in the current recession. One of the worst surprises was a \$251-million fourth-quarter loss at Royal Trustco Ltd., caused in

part by its spectacular losses in Europe and the United States. As a result of those and other losses, the market value of the 36-per-cent stake in Edger Enterprises that Brontman effectively controls is now about \$180 million, compared with \$250 million in January, 1990.



Brontman: little pleasure



Labatt brewery in Toronto: complaints that 'stick accounting' obscures reality

In addition, Brontman and his managers have come under increasing fire recently from investment analysts who complain about the Edger group's complex and constantly changing financial structure. Last week, *Barron's*, an influential business weekly, criticized the

Edger group for what it termed "stick accounting," which makes it difficult for outsiders to judge their financial performance. The paper ran a front-page cartoon depicting Peter and Edward Brontman peering anxiously on the top of a shaky corporate pyramid.

Brontman himself was clearly perturbed by the published criticisms. Reading articles like the "stick accounting" piece, he told *Maclean's*, "I feel he acknowledged that even the occasional feels the Edger group's activities too intricate to understand fully. 'I don't understand all the details,' Brontman said. "I don't always understand everything that's going on with all the companies."

But Brontman gave no indication that he has any serious doubts about Edger's corporate strategy. "The main reason I have comfort in it," he said, referring to Jack Cookwell, the South African-born accountant whose many analyses describe as the architect of the Edger corporate move. The adroit that Cookwell "is the most straightforward guy in the world," adding "If you ask him a question, he'll give you an honest answer, whether you want to hear it or not."

Last week, Cookwell, 50, replaced Senator Trevor Lyson, 58, as president of Brantec, with Lyson taking over from Brontman as chairman. Even so, Brontman insisted that he will remain closely involved in the holding company's affairs. "I'll still be there watching over their shoulders," he told shareholders at the meeting. But a reported leaky that, in the future, as Edger's senior managers endeavor to restore the group's shaky status, the publicly-held Brontman will adopt an even lower public profile.

BRENDA DALGLISH



Dad taught me a lot...
but some things he
let me discover for
myself.



PEOPLE

Soap to nuts

Canadian actress **Alison Hensack** says that soap-opera fans are different from movie fans. Hensack, who is making her feature-film debut as Al Waxman's new mom about the afterlife, *White Light*, which opens this week, is better known as the sophisticated Olivia on the daytime drama *Another World*. Said Hensack, 36: "Once, I



Hensack: 'This woman hates me'

was in a public bathroom and a woman came up to me looking furious and said, 'I hate you. Keep your nose out of Gary's business. He's married, leave him alone.' And then she walked away." Added the retiree of *Killaway*, Miss, 330 km southwest of Vancouver: "This woman hates me and she doesn't even know me. Soap fans don't separate the person from the character. No one would ever go up to Paul Newman and tell him what to do."

Beaming out 100 shows

In his role as the galaxy-bopping Capt. Jack Travenzo on *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, Patrick Stewart says that he is realizing his childhood dream of becoming an astronaut. And next month, the veteran of London's Royal

Shakespeare Company boldly goes in another new direction—he will make his television directing debut on the 1996 *Next Generation* episode. The four-year-old series, which will also celebrate its 100th show next month, is the third-highest rated syndicated TV program (after game

Stewart: galaxy-dopper



Royal music-maker

Monaco's Princess Stephanie, the 26-year-old daughter of Grace Kelly (killed in a car accident in 1952) and Prince Rainier, has shooed her wild ways as a jet-set partyer by concentrating on promoting her first English-language album, *Stephanie*, due for release in North America in July. Although critics panned her first album, which was in French, Stephanie's co-producers and ex-boyfriend *Russell* (who declared, "People are going to be surprised they forget Stephanie is half American,"

Stephanie: surprising North America

SOME MOTHERLY ADVICE

Societal Nancy White is a thorough researcher. "When I decided to do a collection of songs for parents, I realized I had to have a couple of kids first," said White, 42, who is known for her melodic tangents on CBC Radio's *Sunday Morning*. Now that she has met her rigorous standards (she has two girls, 5 and 2), White has released *Mothersong* next, an album that rakes in fun of motherhood and, says White, may put people off parenting. Added White: "We should put the album in diaper bags next to comforters in high schools."

Stolen thunder

Country superstar Garth Brooks and Madonna have something in common—a heated rivalry in the video for his latest hit, *The Thunder Roll*. Brooks, 29, the winner of a record six Academy of Country Music Awards last month, portrays an idealistic, shy man whose wife shoots him. Because of its violent theme, both country video stations, The Nashville Network and Country Music Television, do not play the video. Like Madonna's *Jenny Holm*, *The Thunder Roll* video will be offered for sale. Said Brooks: "I've always done real-life videos, and this happens to be real life."



Brooks: performing an abuser



shows *Wheel of Fortune* and *Jeopardy!*, and it has already aired more episodes than its predecessor, the now-popular, multi-syndicated *Star Trek*. Declared Stewart, 59, about the immense attraction of both programs: "They seem to satisfy a fundamental need in many people for an affirmative, optimistic view of the future."

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CADILLAC
STYLE

DEATH BEHIND BARS

By the time she committed suicide in the Prison for Women in Kingston, Ont., in 1985, at the age of 31, Marlene Moore had been labeled as an irreparable criminal. Indeed, in 1983, Moore became the first woman in Canada—and remains the only one—to be declared a "dangerous offender," subject to indefinite imprisonment. In their new book, *Rock-A-Bye Baby*, national *Newspaper Australia* journalists Alan Abbot and Mary Lawton declare that Moore was more of a threat to herself than to society. Sent to the federal prison for the first time in 1977, after a hostage-taking incident in an Ontario jail, Moore like many of the more than 200 female offenders in Kingston's "Block 7," at it is commonly known, was a victim of physical and sexual abuse during her childhood. Her officers put her into a prison system that was ill-equipped to deal with the devastating long-term effects of the treatment she received as a child. Her harrowing story amounts to a scathing indictment of the way Canadian society deals with female criminals. *Copyright*

around four in the afternoon on Friday, Dec. 2, 1988, under prison administration. Moore became suicidal. Marlene Moore is the short walk from the segregation unit at Kingston's Prison for Women to the outdoor infirmary. They stopped several times along the way to the full-size room could catch her breath. Marlene, only 31, moved in the stopped, shuffling pace of an old woman.

Against her short, copper-blond hair, Marlene's pale skin was merely translucent. Her face, drawn and swollen under dark, thick-lidded eyes, was haunted with fear. Eyes that once gazed with mischief and laughter with a gaily grubby work of hair-covered her upper and lower arms, upper thighs, chest and stomach.

Since arriving at the federal women's prison eight months earlier, Prisoner No. 7301854 had been a frequent patient at the second-floor infirmary. Her body was ravaged by self-mutilation, because she had repeatedly slashed her wrists with glass, pieces of plastic or any other sharp object she could obtain, and because of the atrocious pain of a chronic bladder disorder. Since April, she had been admitted to the hospital for days or weeks at a stretch, sometimes at her own request and sometimes on orders from medical personnel.

At 3 p.m. the next day, nurse Marsha Brown reported for her eighth shift. Scanning the dull-blue-groined room, Brown read nothing to suggest that a woman ahead would be anything but routine. The patient nurse had come to know Marlene well over the summer. On several



THE SYSTEM AND SOCIETY FAILED MARLENE MOORE, WHO COMMITTED SUICIDE IN THE PRISON FOR WOMEN

a violent sexual nightmare, gestured frantically towards Marlene's bed. The nurse pressed past Marlene into the room. She saw Marlene sprawled across her bed, her head and shoulders hanging only a few inches from the floor, with a ripped sheet fastened to a screw around her neck. At Kingston General Hospital, at 5.43 p.m., a doctor pronounced Marlene Moore dead.

Marlene Moore was born in Toronto on Oct. 29, 1957, the 11th child of Edith Elizabeth and John (Jack) Percy Moore. She was just six months old when her parents moved their large family to the small rural community of Lake Wilcox, about 30 kilometers off the city. In the spring of 1968, the Moores purchased a three-bedroom bungalow featuring an what was then called Elgin Green Avenue (later renamed North Lake Road). It was not long before they added three more children to their new home, and they all lived to eat in shifts and sleep four or five to a room. At night, Marlene would rock herself to sleep, a childhood habit

occurred. Brown had tested to Marlene's self-inflicted injuries.

About 15 minutes after arriving at her post that afternoon, Brown heard pounding on the curtained glass wall that separated the nurses' quarters from the hospital ward. It was nurse Brenda Blackwell, distraught because Marlene was in trouble once again, with severe pain.

Brown found Marlene curled tightly in a ball in the middle of her narrow bed, rocking back and forth. Marlene managed to tell the nurse that she had sliced bangs on her pubic area. And she said "If it doesn't go away, I'll have to cut it out, or slash it out, or hang myself." Brown gave Marlene two Tylenol tablets, one with valium and one enoxacin.

A few minutes before 6 p.m., Brown left the locked hospital ward unattended and set out to dispose medication to prisoners in the segregation wing. At the same time, Blackwell prepared to take a shower in the estate bathroom two doors down the hall. Before leaving, she insured some plastic lemons left from dinner and made her roommate promise not to leave herself.

Brown was on her way back to the prison hospital after only 10 minutes. Just outside the door to the hospital, she heard banging sounds and Blackwell's urgent scream. The prisoner, wearing

she never broke—her way, perhaps, of establishing an internal rhythm under the chain.

Marlene was a pretty child with hazel green eyes, a sideways grin and straight blond hair that fell in wild tangles down her back—in a scene of the nickname "Shaggy" that she earned through childhood. Her hair-bowled features gave her a delicate beauty. She was thin, brother Curry Moore says, a live wire—"electric," and always eager to command attention.

With few exceptions, throughout her adult life Marlene remained resolutely silent about her early years. But later, she did reveal glimpses of her childhood. It became clear that Jack Moore, a badly run almost on that bit, ruled over his children with an iron fist. Incensed by Marlene's

anger and self-hatred, causing considerable trouble, especially at school. Barry Wadman, the principal of King City Public School until 1973 represented numerous meetings with Marlene's teachers to explore ways of dealing with her. But school officials quickly wrote Marlene off as a bad seed. As a child, she concentrated on one willing or able to outweigh the reason for her troubled behavior. The response of the school introduction counselor and other education officials set a pattern that would be repeated throughout her life: authority figures around her seemed concerned more about controlling her disruptive, rebellious behavior than about exploring the reasons for her anger.

One day, when Edith Moore called Carol Cameron, an attendance counselor for the York Region Board of Education, to North Lake Road to deal with her daughter, Marlene looked out physically at the tract officer. "She wasn't prepared to let anyone help," Cameron recalled. "She was a very angry young lady."

For Cameron, that assault was the final straw. She charged Marlene under the old juvenile delinquency act as a child in need of care and protection. Before the 1970-1971 school year ended, a weary and fatigued Edith Moore stood in the front of the juvenile court in Newmarket, Ont., and surrendered her 13-year-old daughter into the care of the province's juvenile correction system.

A family court judge ordered Moore to be placed in Grandview School for Girls in Cambridge, Ont. For months at a time, Moore was confined in Churchill House, a residence used for the most serious cases. It was there that Moore, like many of the other residents, began to engage in "cornering" or "slinking"—a ritual in which the girls sat slumped against their wrists behind the walls. Psychologists speculate that such mutilation may relieve psychic pain.

Despite her slight build, Marlene carried a reputation for toughness. Government officials responsible for her misbehavior by slumping her up in a locked room, where she would rock herself for hours on a bed bolted to the floor. Sometimes, she would sit balancing on a wooden chair's back legs and bang it monotonously against the wall. A decade later, clinical psychologist Graham Turrell studied in more detail the "slinking" at Churchill House, generalized it as "locking" and fostered an environment "certainly not conducive to any kind of growth." The Toronto psychiatrist once publicly denounced the maximum-security unit as "the most deplorable, depressing place" he had ever seen.

Residents of that time say that Marlene and others spent days or weeks alone in locked rooms. Frustration, fear and loneliness found expression in self-injury, from swallowing pins to cutting or biting their skin until the blood ran. For the most part, says Curry, a friend of Marlene's at Grandview, the practice of self-mutilation—what the girls



Kingston's Prison for Women; Moore at age 13 (opposite); authority figures who dealt with the girl were more concerned with controlling her violent behavior than exploring the reasons for it

chronic bed-wetting, her father frequently beat her with the back of his belt, raising welts in her face, legs, back and arms. "Nothing hurt worse than those beatings," she once said. Jack Moore's disciplinary methods were, at times, more akin to terrorism. He once held Marlene by her feet out of a second-story window, swinging and banging her body against the house.

The trauma that Marlene experienced as a child went beyond physical and emotional abuse. She also lived in a private hell of sexual abuse. In a confidential psychiatric report presented to prison officials in December, 1982, Dr. Philip Blanton cited evidence of "abiding" incest that was "extremely distressing."

As a child, though, Marlene kept silent about her dark secret. The trauma of being sexually abused since not out in words but in something

themselves called "caring"—was a prison carter. "Nobody teaches you how to care," said Corry. "For some reason, you just do it."

On March 6, 1976, after she had been released from Grandview, Moore obtained a home from a man who picked her up while she was hitchhiking. A district court judge found the man guilty, but the conviction was later overturned. Moore's lawyer at the time, Alan Cooper, said "I think she became completely disillusioned with life." In mid-August, 1976, Moore was arrested on counts of causing disturbance, breach of probation and assaulting a police officer. A Somerset County judge sentenced Moore then 28, to one year at the Somerset Center for Women in Bridgewater. Oct. 15, 1977, prisoners at Somerset launched a protest against changes in the prison rules. At one point, Moore and another prisoner seized a staff member and held her hostage for several hours. At one point, Moore was sent to the Prison for Women.

Marlene Moore, at age 19, was sent to Federal custody. "Home" was a maximum-security cell at Kingston's Prison for Women. For female officers, the limestone fortress known simply as PNW is the end of the line.

When Marlene arrived at PNW, the cells had no hot water. By day, the clang and hum of electronically operated metal doors was constant. At night, wind rattled through doors and windows. There were no sound alarms for the prisoners: the chilling sounds that traveled through the automated vents the screens of women housed in the prison's segregation unit.

On Dec. 1, 1979, Moore was released from prison on mandatory supervision. Within a month, she broke into an apartment in Toronto and stole 12 bottles of beer. Later, during a court appearance, she punched a female guard on the cheek, and the judge sent her back to PNW. Released on Oct. 28, 1982, Moore got the next news out of out of having a mental and delinquent and rehabilitation order. On March 20, 1984, Toronto police arrested Moore and charged her with three counts of armed robbery. She was held for four years, on April 13 Moore made her final trip to the Prison for Women.



Moore in 1988 (below left); Cassidy (below right) desperately lonely for her friends, Moore had no one to comfort her



It was clear from the beginning that Marlene was in physical and emotional distress. On her first day back, she dropped by the inmate commissary office and spoke briefly with Gayle Hines, the commissary chairman. "She was very weak and really needed help," Hines recalled. Her diary Hines wrote that Marlene was hanging onto lawyers and that she said she needed glasses. The next day, Marlene caused a scene by putting her cigarette into another prisoner's salad dish, a dish made of the same black plastic as the dining room trays. Guards carried her to break up an angry shouting match between Marlene and the woman whose meal she had soiled. In less than 24 hours, the destructive incident and punishment that had marked Marlene's earlier imprisonment at Kingston resumed. Both women were temporarily locked up in segregation.

A few days later, the prisoners' committee filed an official complaint about conditions out of segregation by the prison administration. "The inmates at PNW is high," the letter wrote. Hines was worried that other inmates, including Marlene, would be unable to withstand the pressure and would also begin shouting. "Women cannot shut out the pain of their thoughts, and such incidents threaten to become a contagious epidemic," she wrote. Her report also contained a description of the unit. "Segregation at PNW will have no hot water, cell-fans on floor, only concrete, toilets are clogged and not paid, hair and personal items in keeping with the punishment theme. The psychological damage done to the women in segregation is beyond the punishment of the prison system, the segregation, from our facility it is straight torture for any human person to be subject to cages such as these."

While the administration studied options designed to stem the flow of blood behind the limestone walls, the turmoil at the prison intensified Marlene's anger and pain. Her frustration was aggravated by her physical condition. She experienced chronic pain from her bladder problems and was humiliated because of her incontinence, which forced her to relieve herself through a catheter.

Marlene's pain, split out in terms of verbal abuse of the staff. In early October, 1984, she was sentenced to

48-days in segregation after a confrontation with a nurse. She spent her 21st birthday, Oct. 28, in segregation.

Two weeks later, around noon on Nov. 18, Marlene tied a rope around her neck and tried to hang herself in her cell. Linda Cowen, the guard on duty, was alerted by a inmate that something was wrong with Marlene, who was locked in one of four canteen-controlled cells on the lower level. When she saw Marlene hanging in the cell, Cowen ran to the gated stairs, hit an emergency button and grabbed some scissors. She then saw, at camera, Marlene hit herself out of the room, retreat to her bed and begin sobbing violently, alone in her misery.

By then, Marlene was often victimized by rage and despair. Work and plagued with crippling pain, desperately lonely for her Toronto friends 1200 km away, she had an urge to consider her life as one to lose to her side of the story. Her feelings of powerlessness and hostility towards her keepers escalated day by day and she began to see her clothing both as a means of attracting attention and as a psychological weapon against her captors.

On the evening of Nov. 25, hysteria swept through the segregation unit as a phalanx of guards struggled to cut down Bernice Howell, who had hanged herself in her cell on the upper tier. The unconscious prisoner was rushed by ambulance to Kingston General Hospital, where she remained in serious condition for several days before being moved to the prison hospital. Before dawn, there would be two more attempted suicides in the unit.

Marlene responded to the drastic scene as the only way she knew. She draped a blanket over the bars of her cell and began to slash, ignoring the warnings of other prisoners to hang back to stop. She methodically splattered her blood into a paper cup and flung the contents onto the concrete floor outside her cell. Later, prison guard Mary Marston escorted Marlene to the institution hospital for medical treatment. A few hours later, guards returned Marlene to segregation.

During the next week, the final days of Marlene's life in the inmate commissary followed the release of the women in segregation.

On Dec. 2, Marlene asked the inmate wardens of security, Therese Decore, to check on the status of seven new disciplinary charges against inmates related to quiting and throwing body fluids in the prison staff. Because of those charges, Marlene had been sentenced to another 48 days of punitive segregation. As a matter of prison policy, a station at least 24 hours before the approval of the region's deputy commissioner. Decore had said that the deputy commissioner had recommended that the first Marlene had already spent in segregation be counted against her new sentence. She also directed that she be allowed to spend

the 15 days still outstanding in the prison hospital. When Decore gave her the news, Marlene immediately stated that she wanted to go to the hospital, and Decore took her three later that afternoon. "She was moving very slowly," Decore says. "She was very thin and very pale. By the time we got to the hospital, she was totally exhausted."

The next day, Marlene was dead.

In January, 1989, woman Mary Cassidy turned to Joe Hines, whose success in tracing women who murder their husbands outside of prison led to the creation of Correctional Service officials. Marlene's death, a month earlier, was a catalyst for the investigation that followed. Hines was asked to investigate the possibility of introducing her treatment methods under the preliminary. She spent much time interviewing guards, administrators and prisoners, searching for answers to why women slash in prison and how they could be helped.

In early 1990, a year and one month after Marlene's death, Hines presented Cassidy with a set of bold recommendations aimed at reducing and treating self-harm in the women's prison. Her 42-page report laid out a plan to stop any direct criticism at prison guards or administrators. But Hines's general assessment was blunt: long-standing prison practices and policies had fostered the kind of tension and desperation that provoked self-mutilation, more than that, the institution's manner of responding to women who slash was likely to escalate rather than reduce the role of self-mutilation and suicide among prisoners.

Hines, calling for sweeping changes, and that self-mutilation behavior should be seen as a mental health issue rather than a security matter. He said that the prison must move quickly to develop new ways of responding to emotional pain caused by chronic physical and mental abuse. She recommended a nonviolent end to the use of segregation for women who slash, saying that isolation increases rather than decreases suicidal tendencies. It was an unequivocal message that underscored how devastating the prison's policy of segregating women had been for Marlene and others like her.

Within two months of the release of Hines's report, the Correctional Service of Canada and the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies held a two-day conference to trumpet their own long-standing traditions. The collaborative effort, which got underway in March, 1984, had been fragile with several of the Elizabeth Fry Societies and most of the other non-Correctional Service organizations involved in the task force consider the two-day prison professionals. Said Fry Society executive director Donna Duncan: "It really took our staff to be designing a



Prison interior: escalating feelings of powerlessness and hostility

prison system when we don't believe women should be in prison."

The radical vision contained in the 156-page document, *Opening Doors: The Report of the Task Force on Offending Women*, represented a breakthrough for the treatment of female offenders, programming the importance of restoring the women's control over their lives and offering them opportunities to lead from devastating childhood abuse. The recommendations called for the pentitentiary for women to be closed by 1994 and replaced by five regional "boutique-like" facilities, with room for up to 10 women in each. The report recommended the establishment of a new "healing lodge" as one of the prime programs, where focused women prisoners could serve their time without being cut off from native customs and values. It said that there should be an increase in halfway houses and education treatment centers across Canada to help women move back into the community as quickly as possible.



Caadwlight visit for Moore after her death: a call for sweeping changes in the way Canada deals with female criminals

One highly controversial recommendation highlighted the issue of prison mothers. Since 1955, four studies have been commissioned by the Canadian government to examine the impact of separation on women and their families, the social costs of incarcerating mothers and the possibility of institutional care. But no action had ever been taken to address the critical problems. The report stressed that any facilities for women offenders must include "low-cost programs" for children. The task-force recommendations followed a long chorus of voices condemning the Kingston prison. In 1988, just four years after the prison opened, the Archbishops' committee investigating the penal system had recommended that the women's prison be shut down. Since 1968, no fewer than 13 government studies and nongovernment reports have reaffirmed that PW should be closed and that decentralized facilities should be established closer to women's homes. In 1978, Solicitor General Jean-Jacques Blais announced that the prison would be closed within a year. Instead a new 36-foot-high concrete wall was erected around the prison during the early 1980s, at a cost of \$1.4 million. A later 1985 target date announced by the federal government for dispersing the women also passed without any action being taken.

Finally, in September 1990, federal Solicitor General Pierre Cadieux announced that the Prison for Women would be closed in four years and replaced by five regional centers to enable offenders to live closer to their

families and friends. He said that the initiative would cost \$50 million. The new centers, out of three a healing lodge for aboriginal women, would stress education and treatment for drug and alcohol abuse. Cadieux said: "We recognize that many of the women referred to our care have needs similar to those of disadvantaged women in the larger community. Most of them have been physically, sexually or emotionally abused. Many have related substance abuse problems, low self-esteem and heavy responsibility for parenting children on their own."

The Correctional Service has taken some emergency measures to try to make conditions more tolerable as long as the Kingston prison remains open. The women's program has hired a second full-time psychologist and viewed a sexual abuse education program for inmates and staff. Prison authorities have recruited part time an aboriginal elder as a spiritual resource for the native population, a full-time native counselor

and an instructor for native studies. It has started to expand the prison's program for drug and alcohol abuse, including one-on-one counseling, education programs and a therapeutic unit for substance abuse.

The Correctional Service of Canada took another modest step in March 1994, when it opened a women's security unit at the Kingston prison—the first of its kind in Canada. The renovated limestone house, without bars in the windows or doors, can accommodate 12 women. Cadieux said that the new facility was designed to offer inmates easier access to community programs and counseling in substance abuse, sexual abuse and psychiatric problems.

Ultimately, significant actions depend on widespread public understanding. Can society accept that female offenders, with few exceptions, are not dangerous? Is society ready to transcend its desire to punish and instead provide opportunities for healing and rehabilitation? Are we ready to acknowledge just how much incarcerated women have suffered—and continue to suffer—because of their small offenses?

A few weeks after Mother Moore's death, Gayle Horn and other women at PW expressed their grief in writing: "Mother had a smile that would light up the sky, a heart with lots of love and a mind with much intelligence. The system and society failed her terribly. We never thought of her as 'the most dangerous woman in Canada.' We always thought of her as a child never given a fair chance in life." □



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EDUCATION

Assessing ability

Ontario rejects national testing

For the past three years, Paula Butterfield, a Toronto housewife, has sent her 12-year-old son, Jonathan, to a private school Butterfield said that she wants to ensure that he receives extra attention to compensate for a weaker disability. Butterfield, a former teacher, said that her younger son now works harder at his Grade 6 studies than does her 15-year-old son, Adam, who is in Grade 9 at a public school. With firsthand experience of both systems, Butterfield said that she has doubts about the quality of public education in Ontario. As a result, she added, she was disappointed when Helen Boyd, the education minister in Premier Bob Rae's New Democratic Party government, announced on May 2 that Ontario will not participate in a series of milestone tests in the spring of 1999 aimed at measuring reading, writing and mathematical skills. Said Butterfield, "Ontario kids should know where they stand in Canada and with other countries."

Ontario's decision to skip the tests surprised—and angered—many educational experts. Officials of the Council of Ministers of Education, the interprovincial body that will oversee the tests, said that the tests are still being developed. When they are completed, they will be approved by education ministers in the other six provinces, as well as the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and will be administered to randomly selected samples of 13- and 16-year-old students in each province. Frances Wylie, director general of the council, said that Ontario's absence will leave a gaping hole in what was intended to be a national profile of Canada's elementary and secondary school systems. Said Alberta Education Minister James Downing, "There is a growing demand by Canadians to know whether we are getting our money's worth out of education."

For her part, Boyd said that the Alberta and Quebec education ministers, which began developing the tests in February, refused to let her province in further discussions. Ontario differs from the other provinces, Boyd said,

because a higher proportion of the population is made up of ethnic minorities. According to Statistics Canada, about 515,000 Ontario children between the ages of 10 and 14 have English as their first language, while about 45,000 children in the same age group learned other languages at home. Boyd said that the

costs of the program to unreasonable levels. In the wake of Boyd's announcement, some educational consultants and advocacy groups said that they were disappointed by Ontario's decision. George Rutherford, a former education chief of The Toronto Star who prepared a major report on educational reforms for Ontario in a previous Liberal government and is currently an adviser to federal Liberal Leader Jean Charest, said that it does not make sense to assume that ethnic children will do worse on tests than other students. Said Rutherford, "I'm very concerned with a mind-set that says it is inappropriate to expect equally good results because of variations in background."

But Boyd's decision was supported from Ontario's teachers' union. Gail Fechenbach, president of the 108,000-member Ontario Teachers' Federation, said that the association supports the minister. "We told her what we



Montreal high-school students: Ontario's decision angered some parents and education experts

standardized national tests would not fairly measure the abilities of Ontario's ethnic students. Still, Downing dismissed as groundless Boyd's argument about Ontario's ethnic position. Said Downing, "No one is going to tell me that the ethnic makeup of downtown Vancouver or Calgary or Montreal is that different from Toronto." Under the council's proposal, each province would probably test about 18 per cent of its 13- and 16-year-old students. According to an official at the Ontario ministry of education, the province wanted the tests to be based on larger samples containing sufficient numbers of students from ethnic minorities to make it possible to analyze the test results in terms of the demographic makeup of each province. According to Downing, the larger sample groups that would have been required by Ontario's proposal could have posed the

same as the problems with these tests," he said. "You can't compare one system of education with another."

Other experts contended that Canada needs to evaluate its educational programs to ensure that schools are keeping pace with social, economic and technological change. Said John Desmet, president of the Montreal-based, Conservative-leaning Education Forum, a body made up of 22 university and 49 corporate presidents, "Everybody gets tested in the summer or later. I don't see why it should not be in the school system." Although that is a widespread sentiment among corporate and university presidents, it is clearly far less popular among Ontario's schoolteachers.

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The mother tongue

Scholars search for the origins of language

After Sir William Jones, an English scholar and jurist, went to India during the latter part of the 18th century, he began studying the ancient Delhi language of Sanskrit as a diversion from his duties as a judge. Soon, Jones noticed striking similarities between Sanskrit and the other ancient languages of Greece and Latin. He was convinced, wrote Jones, that all three had "sprung from some common source." Indeed,

in modern and ancient languages, Yehudah Dikch-Svirsky and Aaron Dolgopolsky independently conjectured around the 1960s a language known as Nostratic (from the Latin word *nostrum*, meaning "our"). Other scholars have in turn used the controversial Nostratic base to re-create words of an even earlier proto-language, or parent language, that could be just steps away from the present-day tongue. Willy Starckevicz, a Soviet-born professor of lin-

guistic at Indiana University, has compiled a 4,000-word dictionary of a Proto-Algonquian language that he says people spoke 2,000 to 3,000 years ago, and that was the precursor of the Cree, Fox, Mississippi Ojibwa and several other languages that still survive. The work of a linguist, says Harniss, resembles that of "an archaeologist, who can reconstruct an ancient building from key marks in the ground."

For his part, Greenberg, who has grouped the indigenous languages of Africa into five major families, set off a stormy debate about four years ago when he claimed to have traced every native language in North and South America to three parent languages. Some critics said that he used slanted methods to find links between the different languages. He now maintains that every word spoken in the world probably stems from one of about 15 ancestral languages. Said Greenberg: "It could well turn out that they all related to one language."

The search for a common ancestor to modern languages received a major impetus 28 years ago, when Dikch-Svirsky and Dolgopolsky, who both worked as linguists at the Soviet Academy of Sciences, began comparing the evolution of a number of ancient tongues. They discovered resemblances in certain words that are basic to nearly all languages, including the words for fire, water and body parts. Dikch-Svirsky died in a 1986 car accident, while Dolgopolsky left the Soviet Union in the mid-1970s and now teaches linguistics at the University of Haifa in Israel. Soviet researchers have continued to work on the theory that the two men initiated, and they have developed a Nostratic dictionary that contains more than 700 words. But critics contend that the Nostratic theory is based on speculation and coincidence. "There is no such thing," said Nicole Domingue, a professor of linguistics at McGill University in Montreal. "Beyond a certain point, there is truly nothing left to analyze."

Still, a growing number of linguists say that the search for the origins of human language is valid. According to Vyacheslav Iarov, a professor of linguistics and Slavic languages at the Institute of Slavic and Baltic Studies in Moscow, a next step should be translating the Nostratic dictionary into English. "It's decoding how few North American linguists know Russian," said Iarov, who was at the University of Toronto last month. "They can't dispute what they have not read." Edward Rutherford, an associate professor of linguistics at U.T. at Austin, agrees that the idea of a common ancestor of all human languages is an exciting one. "We should be looking at it more closely," said Rutherford, "instead of letting the new ideas come from abroad."

Clearly, the chance of discovering the actual words spoken by the oldest ancestors of the human race is a powerful lure for scholars already caught up in the quest.

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Irony: a new and powerful attraction for scholars already caught up in the quest

Jones and subsequent generations of linguists contended that Sanskrit and other ancient languages as diverse as Gothic, Old Irish and Persian had flowed from a common parent tongue. By comparing consonants and vowel changes and word endings, scholars were able to piece together an ancestral tongue, called Proto-Indo-European, which they say people spoke about 6,000 years ago in southern Russia or eastern Asia, near the modern Turkish-Iranian border. Now, as an action that has provided controversy among scholars, a handful of scholars claim that it may eventually be possible to trace all the languages spoken by the world's five billion people back to a single root—the mother tongue of all humanity.

Recent linguists have advanced the quest by attempting to work out the vocabulary of a language that they say Stone Age people may have spoken about 14,000 years ago. By comparing the sounds and meanings of basic words

spoken at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and other experts have reconstructed words from an ancestral language, including totem (tooth) and Julia (swirl). Starckevicz says that people may have spoken such a language about 100,000 years ago in Africa and the Near East.

Still, many North American scholars say that attempts to find such early ancestral languages may be based on faulty scholarship. Said Linda Brumgar, a senior lecturer in linguistics at the University of British Columbia. "They can claim anything they want, but the proof isn't there." Other scholars, including Joseph Greenberg, professor emeritus of anthropology at California's Stanford University, say that the quest to find ancestral languages could yield a rich field of knowledge. Said Greenberg: "Ultimately, this can tell us how the human mind works."

Although many scholars discuss the pos-

150 YEARS



Special thanks to: Wayne, Debbie, and the staff of the University of Illinois at Chicago for their support and assistance.



TORONTO

Bigotry turns a southern man into a killer

PARIS TROUT

Digitized by Sootikar Collection

The protagonists of Trashy Home movies do surprisingly stupid things: they take midnight strolls through creepy old graveyards or, armed with only a flashlight, they decide to investigate that strange slapping sound coming from the attic. *Paren Trist* beautifully filmed and convincing spells of fine actors, clearly seems to be somewhere more

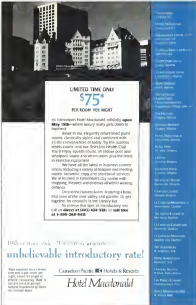
substantial since a low-budget thriller. Starring Dennis Hopper as a murderous Georgia lawyer, it will be screened later this month during the Directors' Fortnight of the Cannes Film Festival. But two of the film's prominent characters, played by Barbara Hershey and Ed Harris, behave as wifely as Brother-sister victims. And Hopper, as the strangely named title character, is two-dimensionally evil. Overall, *Paris Trout*, the first feature made by American Stephen Gyllenhaal, is an astonishingly southern-gothic tale—at once overwrought and eerily grounded.

It is 1840, and Trout and his wife, Harriet Gibbard, run a second-hand store. One day, he checks a young black man in a used-car deal. They argue, and later Trout and a friend pay a posthumous call to the man. In a blind rage, Trout wounds the man's mother and finally shoots his sister. He is charged with murder, and lawyer Henry Snodgrass (Harris) takes on his defense. But the lawyer is increasingly shaken by his cold-blooded client—and actually drawn to his client's wife.

Although Trout is consisted of wackadoodles, he burns his way out of prison. Incapacitated, Hanna and Seaguard—now lovers—remain in town. Hensley deftly conveys her character's terror and shame. But Hanna never becomes a plausible being—it is hard to buy her claim that the married Trout because "there was a sadness about him that was missing in my own life." Hanna feels better in the more effectively written role of the lawyer. For his part, Hopper seems to parody his truly scary undercurrent as a macho cop. **A-** (B+ to C-)

At least the movie is usually compelling. George's overlife in its dim interiors and less-bathed exteriors. And the violent scenes are disturbingly memorable. Fall of sound and fury, Paris, Thailand has next to nothing at its core.

PASCALA YOUNG



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FILMS



Suda (left), Barkin, Tony Roberts: a womanizer comes back to life as a woman

The lady is a cad

Ellen Barkin goes on a gender bender

SWITCH
Directed by Blake Edwards

American writer-director Blake Edwards has demonstrated a knack for playful comedy. He immortalized Peter Sellers as the bumbling Inspector Clouseau in the *Pink Panther* series and played the disastrous Dudley Moore against the *Amazons* in *Dr. Doolittle*. But as a career that spans nearly five decades and 40 movies, Edwards, age 66, has created more than his share of classics. In *Dr. Doolittle*, he had not made a really good movie since *Peter Valerius* (1962), which starred his wife, Julie Andrews, as a woman impersonating a man pretending to be a woman. The latest, Edwards' swiftest switch, is another gender-bending farce. But despite a spiced comic premise featuring Ellen Barkin—who plays a man reincarnated as a woman's body—the movie fails to transcend its own premise. The movie script offers just enough plot gaps to fill with a wispy emotional trifle, but not enough to sustain a farce.

A murder triggers the plot. Steve (Perry King), a tough womanizer, is lured to a surprise party in a hot tub by a trio of vengeful women lured by Margo Goldblatt (Williams). Pretending to seduce him, they kill him. To teach him a lesson, God sends Steve back to earth as a woman (Barkin). Introducing herself as Steve's last friend, Amanda, she masquerades

way into his now-quiet advertising job and hooks up with his best friend, Walter, played by L.A. Lads' Jeremy Sisto.

With her dangerously crisscross smile and swaggering sexuality, Barkin seems well suited to getting a man at a woman's body. She makes the most of Steve's total discovery that he has become a woman—down the pants of not finding his penis to the pleasure of peeing at his own breasts. And at first, she is very busy as a man trying to get comfortable in women's clothing. But Edwards leads the guy to death. Barkin never stops winking around in athletic heels. And the morality of her behavior as a man with her first loss of a penis after half a dozen times.

Steve's comedy turns to the extent that, in *Switch*, Steve's male character becomes a sort of rough-and-tumble feminist. His homophobia, meanwhile, prevents Amanda from fully enjoying her sexual identity. Because the still thinks like a man, she is repulsed by Walter's advances. And when she attempts to seduce a British client (Elliott Gould), he, too, is repulsed by her.

In the end, the movie's provocative premise serves as a setup for a surprisingly rapid resolution. The ending follows the same steps: Steve's last friend is the same old friend.

BRIGID D. JOHNSON

Fear of gossip

Pride and passion clash in a Chinese factory

JU DONG
Directed by Zhang Yimou

At first glance, it is hard to understand why the Oscar-nominated film *Jin Dong* has been banned in China, its country of origin. A tragedy of forbidden love set in a 1960s Chinese village, it is not overtly political. And although its Canadian distributor is screening *Jin Dong* as an "erotic tale," the film is too close to love up to that label. Still, Chinese authorities have declared that it cannot be shown in the country. Film-makers ranging from Martin Scorsese to Norman Jewison have signed petitions in protest. And the controversy has focused attention on a worthy issue that might otherwise escape notice.

Conceptually photographed, *Jin Dong* is a folk tale, a story of seduction and revenge set in a rural dye factory. Jin Dong (Li Wei), the factory's embittered owner, has been unable to father a child. He purchases a beautiful young woman, Jin Dong (Gong Li), and makes her his third wife. After she fails to become pregnant, he beats her repeatedly. Horrified by the abuse, Jin Dong's third wife, Tan Qing (Lu Xue-tan), becomes Jin Dong's clandestine lover. When the factory merges with Tan Qing's father, she lets the old man assume that he is the father. But after an accident leaves Jin Dong paralyzed from the waist down, his wife and nephew resent their father's weakness and reveal that the child is not his. An elder forbids Jin Dong from seeing Tan Qing. "They will talk," he says. "We don't want people to ruin our family name." The conflict—between individual passion and patriarchal pride—reaches a climactic conclusion.

The movie's title is a tribute to Sergei Diaghilev, with long haircuts of crimson and ochre cloth that hang over bloodied pools, the dye factory serves as an extraordinary stage, a cathedral of gleaming light. And with a violent turn of the plot, the club is sent cascading into glorious disaster, piling up like bricks of fire. Jin Dong's words of poetry, not politics. But in *Jin Dong*, who is not to be a saintly devotee, could be a paragon of Red Guard asceticism. And despite the final twist, the movie's portrayal of patriarchal oppression is clear enough that the tyrants of the People's Republic perhaps run their own repression. People, as the elder points out, will talk.

B. D. J.



Scene from *Fatal Attraction*: pleading for clearheaded tolerance, not repression

BOOKS

A new sexual order

The new century may lead to redefinitions

SEXUAL ANARCHY: GENDER AND CULTURE AT THE FIN DE SIÈCLE
By Elaine Showalter
(Viking, 243 pages, \$27.95)

THE bright of the 20th century is changing beneath an ominous sky. In the current era of AIDS, economic decline and environmental decay, it is perhaps natural to wonder whether the same dark speculation shadowed the last two decades of the 19th century—for some of the same reasons. In *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle*, the feminist author focuses on late-19th- and late-20th-century responses to such issues as women's rights, homosexuality and sexually transmitted diseases. And she concludes that "on the sexual-gender front at least, there is room for cautious optimism. What seems today like the apocalyptic warnings of a frightening sexual anarchy," she writes, "may be only the birth throes of a new sexual equality."

Showalter argues that female-elite periods

seen especially perturbed because societies used to graft anathema of death and rebirth onto the years at the end of centuries. She notes that, like the present, the last 20 years of the 19th century struck many observers as a time when "all the laws that governed social identity and behavior seemed to be breaking down." The period saw the rise of educated, sexually independent females known as New Women, and all the so-called Decadents, homosexual writers and artists who included Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley. Syphilis, meanwhile, was the sexual scourge of the day, spreading death and fear. Then, as now, Showalter writes, there was a backlash of "sensibility campaigns" and "decadence, often successful, for restrictive legislation and censorship."

Sexual Anarchy is a wide-ranging book, one that intertwines social history and the poetry of the times in literature and other art forms. Early chapters deal with the public issues generated by the emergence of feminists and New Women. Showalter quotes the British journalist William G. King, who was alarmed by the growing number of unmarried women in the early 1870s. Writing in the *Westminster*

Review, King observed that the statistics were "indicative of an anomalous social state." In the late 19th century, Showalter observes, single women have gained greater acceptance—but, as all sorts of subtle and not-so-subtle ways, they are still being warned against competing with men. She cites as an example the 1887 film *Fatal Attraction*, a cautionary tale that "makes its psychotic villain an elegant woman editor, while the 'good' woman is a housewife wife and mother in grief."

Showalter's book is as much about relations within the sexes as between the sexes. Some of its most provocative ideas pertain to relationships among men in the late 19th century. In Victorian times, a network of men's clubs provided husbands, fathers and brothers from various social classes with alternatives to domestic life. "For de-whole Chiswick," Showalter writes, "located on the triple borderland that separated male bonding from homosexuality."

The author makes a fascinating case for interpreting Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) as "a fable of 19th-century homosexual panic, the discovery and creation of the homosexual self." Unable to form a romantic attachment with a woman or another man, Henry Jekyll "divides himself, and finds his only man in his double, Edward Hyde." Jekyll's central anxiety, Showalter argues, was "the only form of survival choice thought appropriate to the Gay George, where the protagonist's death is both martyrdom and rebirth."

Above all else, *Sexual Anarchy* is an eloquent plea to respond to the sexual issues of the late 19th century with disinterestedness rather than panic, and with tolerance rather than repression. Showalter points out that while mainstream 19th-century society feared both New Women and the homosexual Decadents, the two anxieties also tended to fear and restrain each other. Even in the late 19th century, she adds, relations between feminists and lesbians on one hand and gay men on the other have often been strained. But with the advent of the AIDS epidemic, the groups appear to be leaning back to "fight against the disease and not each other."

Showalter's book has its faults. In particular, she occasionally falls prey to the academic's vice of reasoning excessively elaborate sentences into literary passages. But on the whole, *Sexual Anarchy* is a fine piece of work—and even an uplifting one. "If we can listen something from the fears and signs of the past," she writes, "it is that they are no other exaggerated and unreal, that what looks like sexual anarchy in the context of fin-de-siècle anxieties may be the embryonic stirrings of a new order." In other words, centuries end, life goes on, and change risk actually be far the better.

FAMELA YOUNG

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Roots in the Rock

A family memoir has a Newfoundland tang



Macfarlane has an uncanny talent for yours

THE DANGER TREE: MEMORY, WAR, AND THE SEARCH FOR A FAMILY'S PAST
By David Macfarlane
(Macfarlane: Walker & Post, 224 pages, \$26.95)

It is a typically graceful passage from his own family chronicle, *The Danger Tree: Memory, War, and the Search for a Family's Past*, David Macfarlane evokes his Newfoundland relatives' eccentric style of storytelling. "Tales were abundant in the telling, a fever of story tales, but one story led automatically to another, spiralling like drifting pipe smoke, further and further away from the conversation's language. Not somewhere, without so much as a where-were-we, the stories found their way back, hours later, to where they had started." Obviously, Macfarlane. Still, the wiser of sight: National Magazine Awards, has about

ed his ancestors' uncanny talent for scoring years in *The Danger Tree*, the Toronto journalist has managed to blend personal memories, family tall tales and Newfoundland history into a complex figure of interrupted stories and recurring themes. The result is a rare and entertaining look at private lives caught in the maelstrom of public events.

In one sense *The Danger Tree* is about Macfarlane's craving for a life that he never had. Early in the book, he describes his own father's mother, middle-class childhood in Hamilton. Although his family was congenial enough, he felt oppressed by the slow slowness of his physician father, whose Scottish background discouraged any necessary speech. But his mother, Betty, was a curious Newfoundland girl who considered talk a great pleasure. Through the stories that she and her family told him, Macfarlane spent the outlines of a life that looked a good deal more vivid and lessor than his own.

Macfarlane's mother was a Goodwife, which was the Newfoundland equivalent of being a Vanderbilt or an Irving. The Goodwives of Grand Falls—as relatives in the late people—had built a commercial and road-construction business in the early decades of the century. In fact, these were Macfarlane's great-grandparents. Joseph, a carpenter, and his strong-willed wife, Louisa, a woman so steady that she severely flogged Macfarlane's reports, whose knowing of a sailor's death. The *Danger Tree* is concerned mainly with their son, who was killed in the First World War—and their only daughter, Kate. For Macfarlane, those seven children, including Betty's father, Joe, have become the stuff of myth. *The Danger Tree* is less concerned with uncovering the real complexity of their lives than it is with amplifying the colorful gestures that catch their essence.

At times, Macfarlane's assistance on the Olympian qualities of the Goodwives makes it hard to believe in them, as when he describes his grandfather's St. John's "unfrightened laughter and unassuming grace." But many other passages in *The Danger Tree* pay tribute to the more down-to-earth because exemplified by Kate during her Great War start as a nurse as an overworked Ottawa hospital. Wounded soldiers were being brought to sleep in the halls, so Kate—helping night nurses—had one of them moved into an empty private room that was used

usually for dignitaries. Called on the carpet for her misdemeanors, she replied that she had several brothers serving overseas, and she only hoped someone there would do the same for them. Her answer shocked her superiors—but the soldier stayed where he was.

Macfarlane weaves such anecdotes into a more general mosaic of pre-Confederation Newfoundland: its small towns, forest fires, chronic poverty and, above all, its ferocious devotion to the British Empire. Of the 3,482 Newfoundlanders who fought for Britain during the First World War, two-thirds were killed or wounded. *The Danger Tree* follows each of the three doomed Goodwives into battle, making their deaths with a breathtaking veracity. Writing of his great-uncle Shirley, Macfarlane breaks off his description of the young man's last seconds alive to describe, almost clinically, the sniper's rifle that at that moment is aimed at him. By the time the bullet actually strikes, the sense of impending tragedy is suffocating.

The Danger Tree—the title refers to a tree marking the beginning of a man's land beyond the Newfoundlanders' treacherous infancy—also contains some highly amusing anecdotes. When Macfarlane's great uncle Ken is complimented by a dance partner for being light on his feet, he responds, "I'm even lighter on my elbows." But the book's greatest strength is its ability to combine public and private issues in a single, riveting tale. Macfarlane's debut is an auspicious one for a country that now, more than ever in its history, needs popular authors who can turn its past into stories that illuminate the present.

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'He's pretty, but can he type?'

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

When Ronald Reagan was killed by the bullet of the old case John Hinckley that stopped as much short of his heart, the office of the most powerful man on earth was temporarily shifted to the august of Vice-President George Bush. Once the early danger to the President was over, the sports-crazy Bush played his usual game of warm at his confidence, peddled back for an overheat, but his behavior, full and for his best on the concrete surface. Mildly interested, he went to bed and slept the afternoon away. For several hours, the United States of America was tediously without anyone in charge.

That incident was not published at the time, and the American public had no reason to be alarmed. Bush was not the case, as we know, when the yapping critter Bush encountered his heart problem and the nation—out to amuse the world—led to contemplate the prospect of Don Quayle in the Oval Office.

The subject of Don Quayle forever fascinates political groups and still puzzles George Bush's close friends. The choice of this before man to be written a bestseller (or a bullet) of the White House reveals a lot more about Bush than it does about Quayle.

Your readers might happen to be in a duck in Henry New Orleans can make a day in 1984 when a weary George pushed his way through a throng of waiting Republicans to watch a three-wheeler leaving Bush across the Mississippi. Quayle had been listening in the French Quarter with wife and children when his lawyer advised him to be quickly to that point.

Bush, confiding in no one until the campaign plane ride down from Washington that evening, had decided that Don Quayle was worthy to be the second-most-important man on earth. When the presidential scanner interrupted his choice of running style to the podium during and the shocked press alongside the streamer, Quayle, like an excited puppy, rushed from the sidelines and, in attempting to embrace Bush, knocked his glasses off.

His performance since then, as we know, has



been seriously shaky. It is not just the buying of astronomically correct dolls in South American markets, or his free or no-fairness, or his voice was down-sought-to-the-headlights looks that bother. It is why Bush picked him as the first place Bush in the race, not Quayle.

It was John Nease Garner, Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first vice-president, who is always quoted as saying that the post "won't" switch a pitcher of water up. "That isn't what he said, actually. He said it wasn't worth 'a pitcher of water gas'—the press in those days being superstitious—let you get the idea."

That statement had some value, until the day F.D.R. died. By then, he had a case hardened and fearless little veteran politician by the name of Harry Truman as his standing. Good thing, too. Truman had to make such historic decisions as dropping the atomic bomb on Japan in a series of ending the war swiftly, and later, firing the grandiloquent Gen. Douglas

MacArthur. The soundness of the first decision will forever be debated, but Harry never hesitated over a decision, and slept soundly.

Since then, the vice-presidential has not been regarded as such a job. The Eisenhower selection of a chap named Nixon, who later won a record electoral victory. John Kennedy had as his No. 2 a man he despised, but who happened to be the most experienced and wily politician in the United States: Lyndon Johnson.

Johnson had a chap easily qualified to be president himself, Hubert H. Humphrey. Reagan as a backstop, had a fellow who had been head of the CIA, every bit China, chairman of the Republican party, ambassador to the United Nations, a margin Washington victim. Fellow by the name of George Bush.

The reason the stock markets quivered at the Bush heart tremors was the contrast between these predecessors and Don Quayle, who was known before his selection as "the best amateur from Florida" for his prohibition for the golf courses there.

There are the slender Washington jokes that the Secret Service has standing orders that if Bush is shot, they are immediately to shoot Don Quayle. It is called the "around-the-bush" joke. The late night comedians feed on Quayle facts. Last week, four columns in two days in *The New York Times* worried over "the Quayle factor."

When Bush had the nomination wrapped up in 1988, his pollsters worried about his "gender gap"—the feeling that he retained most American women of their first husband Roger Ailes, the cynical movie maker who made Willie Horton the major feature of the campaign that destroyed Michael Dukakis.

was the one who joined Quayle with Bush, saying that he could overcome the female

dislike for the candidate by acquiring a young and good-looking running mate.

The feminists replied with their banners at Quayle rallies. "He's pretty, but can he type?" We still don't know, let alone whether he can think. But George Bush, with his basic masculinity, with his desire to have the spotlight about about spending his life as the second banana, permits at his stammering in keeping him, smiling during his recent illness—bugged by media questioning—that he will keep Quayle through his second term.

Bob Woodward is his own book, *The Cow*

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